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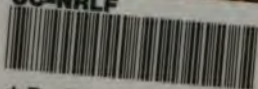
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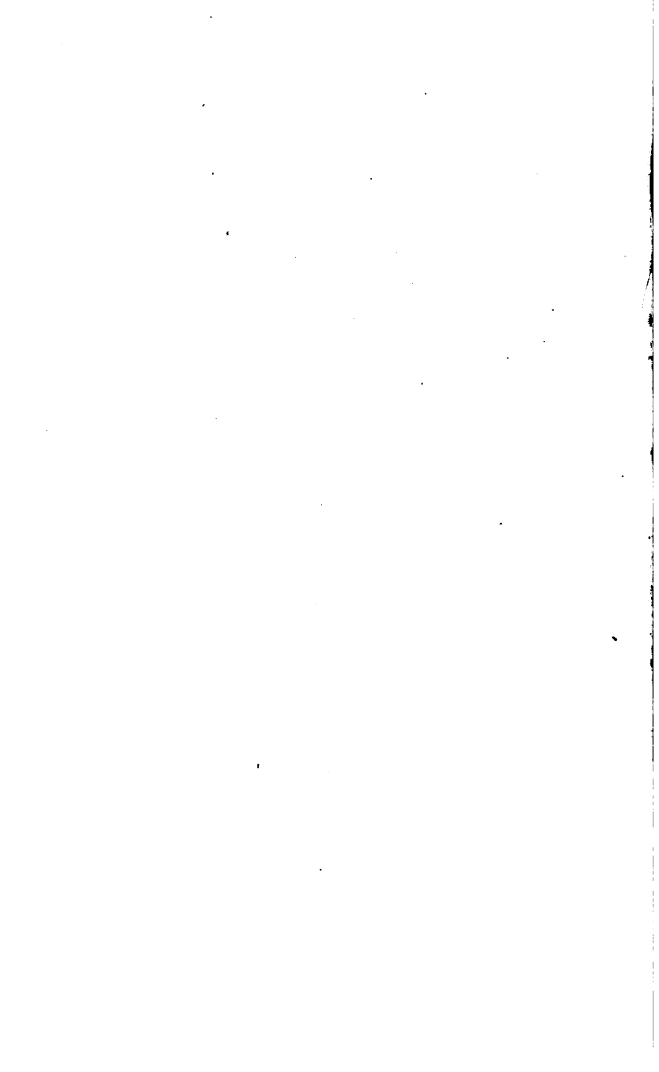
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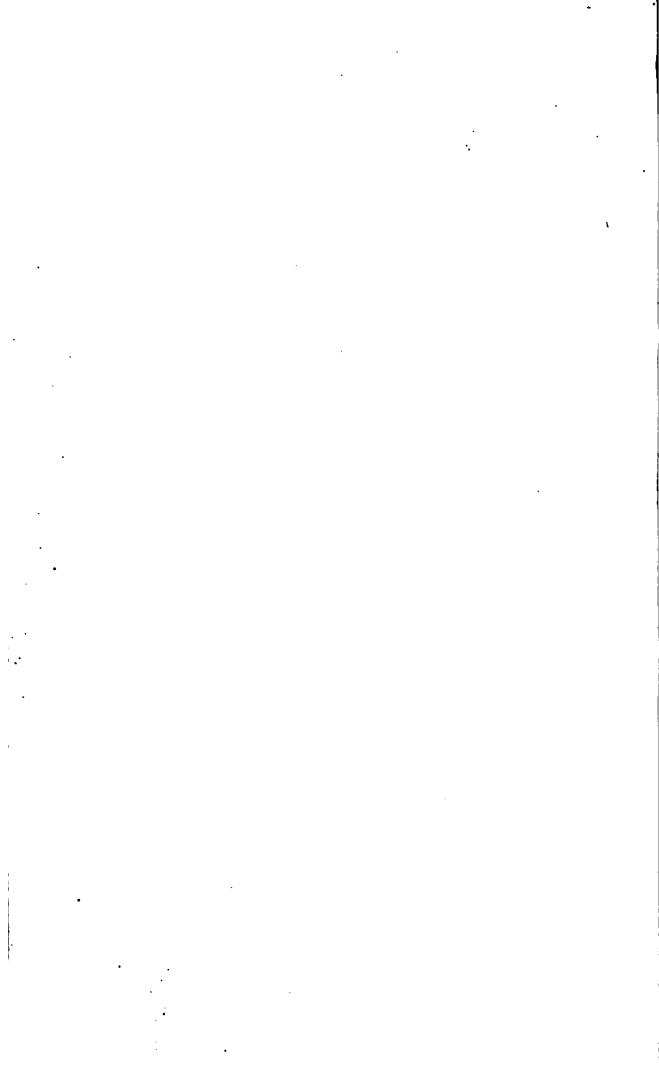
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perspicuity."—BIBLIOTHECA BRITANNICA.**

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HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK XXXIX.

CHAP. 1. While these transactions passed at Rome (if they are to be dated in this year), both the consuls were employed in the war with the Ligurians. This people seemed, in some measure, intended by nature for the purpose of preserving military discipline among the Romans, by its opposition to their arms, during the intervals between important wars; nor was any province better calculated to form a soldier to active valour. For as to Asia, from the enticing pleasures of its cities, the abundance of every production both of land and sea, the unwarlike temper of its inhabitants, and the wealth of its princes, how much soever it might entice the Roman armies, it contributed nothing towards the improvement of their courage. Under the command of Cneius Manlius, particularly, the troops were suffered to run into idleness and licentiousness. The consequence of which was, that meeting in Thrace a passage somewhat more difficult, and an enemy of rather more vigour than they had been accustomed to, they suffered a repulse with severe loss. Whereas in Liguria there was every circumstance that could invigorate the courage of soldiers; the face of the country mountainous and rugged, so that even the taking possession of unoccupied posts, and much more the dislodging of an enemy already in possession, was attended with much labour: the roads hilly, narrow, and exposed to danger from ambuscades; the enemy light, active, and brisk in their motions, so as to allow no rest or remissness at any season, or in any place; a number of strong forts, necessarily to be attacked with much toil and danger; and the country so poor as to constrain the soldier to a sparing mode of living, while it afforded but a small share of booty. Accordingly, no sutler

followed the army, no long train of baggage-horses extended its line of march, nothing was to be seen but arms, and men who had no other hope but in their arms. Nor did those people ever cease to afford either subject or cause for hostilities; for, their own country being infertile, they made frequently incursions on the territories of their neighbours; ever avoiding, however, an engagement that might effectually disable them.

2. The Consul Caius Flaminius, after frequently defeating the Frinian Ligurians in their own country, received the submission of that tribe, and ordered them to deliver up their arms; but, having acted dishonestly in the delivery of them, and being reprov'd for their behaviour, they abandoned their villages, and fled to the mountain called Auginus, whither the consul immediately followed them. At his approach a part of the enemy again betook themselves to flight; and, running with precipitate haste, the greatest part without arms, over pathless tracts and rocky precipices, they got away beyond the Apennine; the rest, who remained in the camp, were surrounded and reduced by assault. The legions were then led over the Apennine, where the enemy, assisted by the height of the mountain where they had posted themselves, at first stood on their defence; but, in a little time, submitted. A more careful search was now made for their arms, which were all taken from them. The army next marched against the Apuan tribe of Ligurians, who, by their inroads, had infested the territories of Pisa and Bononia to such a degree that the inhabitants could not till their grounds. These the consul entirely subdued, and thereby restored peace to the neighbourhood. Having now secured the province against any disturbance from an enemy, that he might not keep the soldiers in a state of idleness, he made a road from Bononia to Anetium. The other consul, Marcus Æmilius, ravaged with fire and sword the lands of the Ligurians, together with their villages that stood in the plains, while the inhabitants remained posted on two mountains, Ballista and Suismontius. He then attacked these, harassed them for some time, and at last compelled them to come to a regular engagement, in which he utterly defeated them. During the fight he vowed a temple to Diana. Having now reduced all on the hither side of the Apennine, he marched against those on the other side of that mountain; among whom were the

Frinian tribe, which had not been attacked by Flaminius. Æmilius subdued them all, stripped them of their arms, and obliged the multitude to come down from the mountains into the plains. Peace being thus established in Liguria, he led his army into the Gallic territory, and drew a road from Placentia to Ariminum to meet that made by Flaminius. During the last engagement, when he fought a pitched battle with the Ligurians, he vowed a temple to Imperial Juno. Such were the transactions of this year in Liguria.

3. In Gaul, the Pretor Marcus Furius, seeking a pretext for war in the midst of peace, deprived the Cænomanians of their arms, although no charge of guilt had been proved against them. Of this they complained to the senate at Rome, and were by them referred to the Consul Æmilius, whom the senate authorized to examine into and determine the cause. After a strong contest with the pretor it was decided in favour of the Cænomanians; their arms were restored, and the pretor was ordered to quit the province. The senate afterward gave audience to envoys of the Latine confederates, who had come in great numbers from all parts of Latium. They complained that a great multitude of their citizens had removed to Rome, and had been assessed there in the survey; on which a commission was given to Quintus Terentius Culleo, the pretor, to make inquiry after such persons; and on the allies proving that those persons, themselves, or their fathers, had been rated in the surveys of their states in the censorship of Caius Claudius and Marcus Livius, or at some time subsequent to their censorship, he was ordered to compel all such to return to the several states wherein they had been so rated. In consequence of this inquiry twelve thousand Latines returned home; so much was the city, even at that early period, burdened by an influx of foreigners.

4. Before the consuls came home to Rome, Marcus Fulvius, proconsul, returned from Ætolia. He, as usual, recited to the senate, in the temple of Apollo, the services which he had performed in Ætolia and Cephallenia, and then requested of the fathers that, in consideration of his having conducted the business of the public with good fortune and success, they would be pleased to order public thanks to be offered to the immortal gods, and to decree a triumph to him. Marcus Abutius, a plebeian tribune, gave notice that, if any thing

were determined on that subject before the arrival of Marcus Æmilius, he would enter his protest : for "the consul intended to oppose that measure ; and, at his setting out for his province, had given him a charge to keep the discussion of it open until he should come home. Fulvius," he said, "would lose nothing by this but time ; for, notwithstanding the presence of his consul, the senate would determine according to its own judgment." Fulvius replied, that, "even if people did not know that there was a quarrel subsisting between him and Marcus Æmilius, or with what overbearing, and, in some measure, tyrannical rancour, that man prosecuted his enmity, yet it would be insufferable that the absence of the consul should both obstruct the worship of the immortal gods, and delay a triumph due to merit ; that a commander, after performing signal services, and his victorious army, with its booty and prisoners, should remain outside the gates, until a consul, who purposely delayed abroad, should be pleased to return to Rome. But, in the present case, when the animosity between him and the consul was most notorious, what fair dealing could be expected from a man who procured clandestinely, in a thin house, and lodged in the treasury, a decree of senate, that 'it did not appear that Ambracia was taken by force ;' a town which was attacked with mounds and engines ; where, after the works were burnt, others were constructed anew ; where a fight was carried on for fifteen days, both above and under ground ; where, from the first dawn, when the soldiers mounted the walls, the battle lasted until night, and was for a great part of the time doubtful ; and where more than three thousand of the enemy were killed ? Then, again, what a malicious misrepresentation did he make to the pontiffs, of the temples of the immortal gods being plundered in a captured city ! If it were allowable that Rome should be decorated with the ornaments of Syracuse and other conquered places, then must Ambracia be the single instance of a captured city exempted from the laws of war. For his part, he besought the conscript fathers, and requested the tribunes, not to suffer him to become a subject of derision to an enemy, who had acted all along with the most overbearing arrogance."

5. Every one present felt the force of what he urged ; and some entreated the tribune to desist, while others sharply reproved his conduct. But what affected him most was

a speech of his colleague, Tiberius Gracchus, who said, that "for a man in office to prosecute even his own quarrels, was an example of no good tendency; but, that a tribune of the people should take on himself to be a solicitor in the quarrel of another, was infamous, and highly unworthy of the power and sacred laws of the order to which he belonged. It was right that every one should love or hate others, approve or disapprove of measures, according to the dictates of his own judgment; but not that a tribune should depend on the look or nod of another man, veer about at the movements of another's will, and make himself a tool to his displeasure; remember a private charge, committed to him by Marcus Æmilius, and forget that the tribuneship was a public charge, committed to him by the Roman people, for the aiding and maintaining the liberty of private citizens, not to aggrandize the arbitrary power of a consul. His colleague did not seem to consider that this circumstance would be recorded and handed down to posterity: that of two plebeian tribunes of the college, one sacrificed his own resentment to the public good, the other accepted the employment of prosecuting the resentment of another man." Overcome by these severe rebukes, the tribune withdrew from the meeting, and Servius Sulpicius, the pretor, having put the question, a triumph was voted to Marcus Fulvius. He returned thanks to the conscript fathers; and then mentioned that, "on the day of his taking Ambracia, he had vowed to celebrate the great games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great; that a contribution for that purpose had been made to him by the several states, amounting to one hundred and ten pounds' weight of gold; and he requested them to order that sum to be set apart, out of the money which he was to deposite in the treasury, after his triumph." The senate ordered the college of pontiffs to be consulted, whether it were necessary that the whole of that sum should be expended on the games; and the pontiffs having answered that the amount of the expense was a point in which religion was in nowise concerned, the senate gave permission to Fulvius to expend as much as he thought proper, provided it did not exceed eighty thousand sesterces.* He at first intended to celebrate his triumph in the month of January;

* 645l. 17a. 2d.

but, hearing that the Consul *Æmilius*, in consequence of a letter from the Tribune *Abutius*, acquainting him with his declining to protest, was coming in person to Rome to hinder his triumph, but had been obliged by sickness to halt on the road, he hastened the time of the celebration, lest he should have more contests about it than he had met in the war. He triumphed over the *Ætolians* and *Cephalenia* on the tenth day before the calends of January. There were carried before his chariot golden crowns to the amount of one hundred and twelve pounds' weight; of silver, eighty-three thousand pounds; of gold, two hundred and forty-three thousand; of Attic tetradrachms, one hundred and eighteen thousand;* of the coin called *Philippics*, twelve thousand four hundred and twenty-two;† brazen statues, two hundred and eighty-five; marble statues, two hundred and thirty; arms, weapons, and other spoils, in great quantities: besides these, *catapultas*, *ballistas*, and engines of every kind; and in the procession were led twenty-seven commanders, some *Ætolian*, some *Cephalenian*, with others belonging to King *Antiochus*. Before he rode into the city, in the *Flaminian circus*, he honoured great numbers of tribunes, prefects, horsemen, centurions, both Romans and allies, with military presents; to each of the soldiers he distributed out of the booty twenty-five denariuses,‡ double to a centurion, triple to a horseman.

6. The time of the election of consuls now approached [A. U. C. 566. B. C. 186]; and as *Marcus Æmilius*, to whose lot that business had fallen, could not attend, *Caius Flaminius* came home to Rome. He elected consuls, *Spurius Postumius Albinus*, and *Quintus Marcus Philippus*. Then were chosen pretors, *Titus Mænius*, *Publius Cornelius Sulla*, *Caius Calpurnius Piso*, *Marcus Licinius Lucullus*, *Caius Aurelius Scæurus*, and *Lucius Quintius Crispinus*. At the close of the year, after the magistrates were appointed, on the third day before the nones of March, *Cneius Manlius Vulso* triumphed over the Gauls inhabiting Asia. The reason of his deferring his triumph so long was to avoid standing a trial under the *Petilian law*, during the pretorship of *Quintus Terentius Culleo*; and the being involved in the ill consequences of the sentence passed on *Lucius*

* 15,241*l.* 12*s.* 4*d.* † 801*l.* 3*s.* 3*d.* ‡ 16*s.* 1½*d.*

Scipio, especially as the judges would be more disposed to severity against him* than against Scipio; because the latter had strictly maintained military discipline, whereas he, his successor, had ruined it by tolerating licentiousness of every kind. Nor were the facts which were reported to have happened in the province the only things that disgraced his character. The circumstances which his soldiers every day exhibited to the eyes of the public were even more scandalous; for by this army returning from Asia was the origin of foreign luxury imported into the city. These men first brought to Rome gilded couches, rich tapestry, with hangings and other works of the loom; and, what were then deemed magnificent furniture, single-footed tables and buffets. (At entertainments, likewise, were introduced players on the harp and timbrel, with buffoons for the diversion of the guests. Their meats also began to be prepared with greater care and cost; while the cook, whom the ancients considered as the meanest of their slaves, both in estimation and use, became highly valuable. Nevertheless, these instances of extravagance, as they were then deemed, were no more than the seeds of that luxury which was afterward to spring up.

7. Cneius Manlius carried in the triumph two hundred golden crowns of twelve pounds' weight; two hundred and twenty thousand pounds' weight of silver; two thousand two hundred and three of gold; one hundred and twenty-seven thousand Attic tetradrachms;* two hundred and fifty thousand cistophoruses;† sixteen thousand three hundred and twenty golden Philipics;‡ together with abundance of Gallic arms and spoils in chariots. Fifty-two generals of the enemy were led before his car. He distributed to each of his soldiers forty-two denariuses,§ and double to a centurion; to the foot-soldiers double pay, the horsemen triple. Great numbers of all ranks, whom he had distinguished by gifts, accompanied him. The verses thrown out by the soldiers were of such a kind as plainly indicated that their commander had been indulgent to them, and courted their affections. It was indeed evident that the triumph was beheld with a greater degree of favour by the troops than by the citizens. The friends of Manlius, however, were able

* 16,404*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.* † 4,309*l.* 14*s.* 9*d.* ‡ 1,054*l.* § 1*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*

to acquire for him the regard of the people also ; for they procured the passing of a decree of the senate, ordering that "such part of the money contributed to the public funds by the people, for the pay of the forces, as was not yet repaid, should be discharged out of that which had been carried in the procession to the treasury." Accordingly the city pretors, with care and fidelity, paid twenty-five denariuses and a half* for each thousand asses.† About this time two military tribunes arrived from the two Spains with letters from Caius Atinius and Lucius Manlius, who governed those provinces. These letters contained information that the Celtiberians and Lusitanians were in arms, and ravaging the territories of the allies ; the senate, however, deferred all consideration of that business until the new magistrates should come into office. This year, during the celebration of the Roman games exhibited by Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Aulus Postumius Albinus, a pole in the circus, being loosely set in the ground, fell on the statue of Pollentia, and threw it down. The senate, moved by such an incident, as it respected religion, voted that one day should be added to the celebration of the games, that two new statues should be set up instead of the one, and that one of them should be gilded. The plebeian games were likewise repeated for one day, by the ediles Caius Sempronius Blaesus and Marcus Furius Luscus.

8. The consuls of the following year, Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Marcius Philippus, were diverted from the care of armies, and wars, and provinces, to the punishing of an intestine conspiracy. On the pretors casting lots for their provinces, Titus Mænius obtained the city jurisdiction ; Marcus Licinius Lucullus, that between citizens and foreigners ; Caius Aurelius Scaurus, Sardinia ; Publius Cornelius Sulla, Sicily ; Lucius Quintus Crispinus, Hither Spain ; Caius Calpurnius Piso, Farther Spain. The employment decreed to both the consuls was the making inquiry concerning clandestine meetings. A Greek of mean condition came, first, into Etruria, not with one of the many trades which his nation, of all others the most skilful in embellishing the mind and body, has introduced among us, but a low operator in sacrifices, and a soothsayer ; nor was

* 6s. 5d.

† 3l. 4s. 7d

he to be ranked with those who, publicly professing to give instruction for hire, make use of open rites and ceremonies to imbue men's minds with religious terrors, but a teacher of secret mysteries. These mysterious rites were at first imparted to a few, but afterward communicated to great numbers, both men and women. To their religious performances were added the pleasures of wine and feasting, to allure the greater number of proselytes. When wine, friendly discourse, night, and the mingling of sexes, had extinguished every sentiment of modesty, then debaucheries of every kind began to be practised, as every person found at hand that sort of enjoyment to which he was disposed by the passion most prevalent in his nature. Nor were they confined to one species of vice, the promiscuous meetings of freeborn men and women; but from this storehouse of villany proceeded false witnesses, counterfeit seals, false evidences, and pretended discoveries. In the same place, too, were perpetrated secret murders; so that, in some cases, even the bodies could not be found for burial. Many of their audacious deeds were brought about by treachery, but most of them by force; and this force was concealed by loud shouting, and the noise of drums and cymbals, so that none of the cries uttered by the persons suffering outrage or murder could be heard abroad.

9. The infection of this mischief, like that of a pestilence, spread from Etruria to Rome; where, the size of the city affording greater room for such evils, and more means of concealment, it remained some time undiscovered; but information of it was at length brought to the Consul Postumius in the following manner. One Publius Æbutius, whose father had held equestrian rank in the army, was left an orphan, and his guardians dying, he was educated under the eye of his mother, Duronia, and his stepfather, Titus Sempronius Rutilus. Duronia was entirely devoted to her husband; and Sempronius having managed the guardianship in such a manner that he could not give an account of the property, wished that his ward should be either made away with, or bound to compliance with his will by some strong tie. The bacchanalian rites presented themselves to his view as the surest way to effect the ruin of the youth. His mother told him that, "during his sickness, she had made a vow for him, that if he should recover, she would initiate him among

the bacchanalians: that being, through the kindness of the gods, bound by this vow, she wished now to fulfil it: that it was necessary he should preserve chastity for ten days; and, on the tenth, after he should have supped and washed himself, she would conduct him into the place of worship." There was a freedwoman, called Hispala Fecenia, of depraved habits, but deserving of a better lot than that of the occupation to which she had been accustomed when very young and a slave, and by which she had maintained herself since her manumission. As they lived in the same neighbourhood, an intimacy subsisted between her and Æbutius, which was far from being injurious either to the young man's character or property: for she had conceived a passion for him, and had voluntarily sought his acquaintance; and as his supplies from his friends were scanty, he was supported by the generosity of this woman: nay, to such a length did her affection carry her, that on the death of her patron, being without a protector, she petitioned the tribunes and prætor for a guardian, and, making her will, constituted Æbutius her sole heir.

10. As such pledges of mutual love subsisted, and as neither kept any thing secret from the other, the young man, jokingly, bid her not be surprised if he separated himself from her for a few nights; as, "on account of a religious duty, to discharge a vow made for his health, he intended to be initiated among the bacchanalians." On hearing this the woman, greatly alarmed, cried out, "May the gods forbid!" affirming that "it would be better, both for him and her, to lose their lives, than he should do such a thing:" she then imprecated curses, vengeance, and destruction on the heads of those that advised him to such a step. Æbutius, surprised both at her expressions and at the violence of her alarm, bid her refrain from curses, for "it was his mother who ordered him to do so, with the approbation of his stepfather."—"Then," said she, "your stepfather (for perhaps it is not allowable to censure your mother) is in haste to destroy, by that act, your chastity, your character, your hopes, and your life." This increasing his surprise, he begged of her to explain herself. On which, after imploring the favour and pardon of the gods and goddesses, if, compelled by her regard for him, she disclosed what ought not to be revealed, she told him that, "when in service, she had gone into that

place of worship as an attendant on her mistress ; but that, since she had obtained her liberty, she had never once gone near it : that she knew it to be the receptacle of all kinds of wickedness : that it was well known that, for two years past, no one older than twenty had been initiated there. When any person was introduced he was delivered as a victim to the priests, who led him away to a place resounding with shouts, the sound of music, and the beating of cymbals and drums, lest his cries, while suffering forcible outrage, should be heard abroad." She then entreated and besought him to put an end to that matter in some way or other ; and not to plunge himself into a situation where he must first suffer, and afterward commit, every thing that was abominable. Nor did she quit him until the young man gave her his promise to keep himself clear of those rites."

11. When he came home, on his mother's mention of the ceremonies which were to be performed on that day, and on the several following days, he told her that he would not perform any of them, nor did he intend to be initiated. His stepfather was present at this discourse. Immediately the woman, with great heat, observed, that " he could not debar himself of the company of Hispala for ten nights ; that he was so fascinated by the caresses of that serpent, as to retain no respect for his relatives, or even the gods themselves." Loading him with reproaches, they drove him out of the house, assisted by four slaves. The youth, on this, repaired to his aunt Æbutia ; told her the reason of his being turned out by his mother, and next day, by her advice, gave information of the affair to the Consul Postumius in private. The consul dismissed him, with an order to come again on the third day following. In the meantime he inquired of his mother-in-law, Sulpicia, a woman of respectable character, " whether she knew an old matron called Æbutia, who lived on the Aventine hill ?" Sulpicia said " she knew her well, and that Æbutia was a woman of virtue ; one whose character was marked with the modesty and simplicity of ancient times." He then requested she might be summoned thither, as he had a particular reason for desiring some conversation with her. Æbutia, on receiving the message, came to Sulpicia's house ; and the consul soon after coming in, as if by accident, introduced a conversation about Æbutius, her brother's son. On this she burst into tears, and lamented the unhappy lot of the youth ;

"who, after being defrauded by persons who should the rather have been his protectors, was at that time obliged to take up his residence with her, being driven out of doors by his mother, for no other reason but because he had refused to be initiated in certain mysteries of wickedness, as they were said to be."

12. The consul, on receiving this information respecting Æbutius, was of opinion that no suspicion could be entertained of his testimony. Taking leave, therefore, of Æbutia, he requested his mother-in-law to send again to the Aventine, for Hispala, a freedwoman, not unknown in that neighbourhood, for that he wanted to question her also. When Hispala received Sulpicia's message, she was not a little alarmed at being sent for by a woman of such high rank and respectable character, and could not conjecture the cause; but afterward, when she saw the lictors in the porch, the multitude of Postumius' attendants, and afterward himself, she was very near fainting. The consul led her into a retired part of the house, and, in the presence of his mother-in-law, told her that "she need not be uneasy, if she could resolve to speak the truth; and of this, either Sulpicia, a matron whose character she must know, or himself, would give her full assurance." He then desired her to give him an account of all that was done by the bacchanalians, in their nocturnal orgies, in the grove of Simila. The woman, on hearing this, was seized with such terror and trembling of all her limbs, that for a long time she was unable to speak; but recovering at length, she said, that "when she was very young and a slave, she had been initiated, together with her mistress; but for several years past, since she had obtained her liberty, she knew nothing of what was done there." The consul commended her so far, as not having denied that she was initiated, but charged her to explain all the rest with the same sincerity; and on her persisting to affirm that she knew nothing farther, he told her that "she must not expect to meet the same tenderness or pardon if she should be convicted by another person, and one who had made a voluntary confession; that there was such a person, who had heard the whole from her, and had given him a full account of it." The woman, now convinced that it must certainly be Æbutius who had discovered the secret, threw herself at Sulpicia's feet, and at first began to beseech her "not to let the pri-

vate conversation of a freedwoman with her lover be made not only a serious business, but even capital charge ;" declaring that " she had spoken of such things merely to frighten him, and not because she knew any thing of the kind." On this Postumius, growing angry, said " she seemed to imagine that she was wrangling with her gallant Æbutius, and not that she was speaking in the house of a most respectable matron, and to a consul." Sulpicia endeavoured to dispel her terrors ; and while she encouraged her to speak out, at the same time pacified her son-in-law's anger. At length she took courage, and, after severe remarks on the perfidy of Æbutius, in making such a return for the extraordinary kindness shown to him in that very instance, she declared that " she stood in great dread of the gods, whose secret mysteries she was to divulge ; and also of men who, should she be seized as an informer, would certainly put her to death. Therefore she entreated this favour of Sulpicia, and likewise of the consul, that they would send her out of Italy, so as that she might pass the remainder of her life in safety." The consul desired she would fear nothing ; assuring her it should be his care that she might live securely in Rome.

13. Hispala then gave a full account of the origin of the mysteries. " At first," she said, " the rites were performed by women : no man used to be admitted. They had three stated days in the year on which persons were initiated among the bacchanalians, in the daytime. The matrons used to be appointed priestesses successively in their turn. Paculla Minia, a Campanian, when priestess, made an alteration in every particular, under pretence of having been so directed by the gods : for she first introduced men, who were her own sons, Minucius and Herennius, both surnamed Cerrinius ; changed the time of celebration from day to night ; and, instead of three days in the year, appointed five days of initiation in each month. When the rites were thus made common, and men were intermixed with women, the night encouraging licentious freedom, there was nothing wicked, nothing flagitious, that had not been practised among them. If any showed an uncommon degree of reluctance in submitting to dishonour, or disinclination to the commission of vice, they were held as victims and sacrificed. To think nothing unlawful was the grand maxim of their religion.

The men, as if bereft of reason, uttered predictions, with frantic contortions of their bodies : the women, in the habit of bacchantes, with their hair dishevelled, and carrying blazing torches, ran down to the Tiber ; where, dipping their torches in the water, they drew them up again with the flame unextinguished, being composed of native sulphur and charcoal. They said that men were carried off by the gods, when, after being fettered, they were dragged into secret caves. These were such as refused to take the oath of the society, or to associate in their crimes, or to submit to dishonour. Their number was exceedingly great, enough almost to compose a state in themselves, and among them were many men and women of noble families. During the last two years it had been a rule, that no person above the age of twenty should be initiated ; for they sought for people of such age as made them more liable to suffer deception and personal abuse." When she had finished this recital she again fell at the consul's feet, and repeated the same entreaties that she might be sent out of the country. Postumius requested Sulpicia to clear some part of the house, into which Hispala might remove : accordingly an apartment was assigned her in the upper part of it, of which the stairs, opening into the street, were stopped up, and the entrance made from the inner court. Thither all Fecenia's effects were immediately removed, and her domestics sent for. Æbutius, also, was ordered to remove to the house of one of the consul's dependants.

14. Having thus secured the informers, Postumius represented the affair to the senate. When he laid before them the whole in order, the information offered to him at first, and the discoveries gained by his inquiries afterward,—the senators were struck with great consternation ; not only on the public account, lest such conspiracies and nightly meetings might be productive of secret treachery and mischief, but likewise on account of their own particular families, lest some of their relations might be involved in this infamous affair. They voted, however, that thanks should be given to the consul for having investigated the matter with singular diligence, and without exciting any alarm. They then passed an order, out of the common course, that the consuls should hold an inquisition extraordinary concerning the bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies ; should take care that the in-

formers, Æbutius and Fecenia, might suffer no injury on that account ; and that they should invite other informers in the matter by offering rewards. They ordered that the officials in those rites, whether men or women, should, wherever found, be delivered over to the power of the consuls ; and also that proclamation should be made in the city of Rome, and published through all Italy, that “ no persons initiated in the bacchanalian rites should presume to come together or assemble on account of those rites, or to perform any such kind of worship ;” and above all, that search should be made for those who had assembled or conspired for the above-named purpose, or for any other flagitious practices. These were the decrees of the senate. The consuls directed the curule ediles to make strict inquiry after all the priests of those mysteries, and to keep such as they could apprehend in custody until their trial ; they at the same time charged the plebeian ediles to take care that no religious ceremonies should be performed in private. The capital triumvirs were ordered to post watches in proper places of the city, and to use vigilance to prevent any meetings by night. In order likewise to guard against fires, five assistants were joined to the triumvirs, so that each might have the charge of the buildings in his own separate district, on both sides the Tiber.

15. After despatching these officers to their several employments, the consuls mounted the rostrum ; and, having summoned an assembly of the people, one of the consuls, when he had finished the solemn form of prayer usually pronounced by the magistrates before they address the people, proceeded thus : “ Romans, in no former assembly was this solemn supplication to the gods more proper or even more necessary ; as it serves to remind you that these are the deities whom the wisdom of your forefathers pointed out as the objects of your worship, veneration, and prayers ; and not those which, after insatuating men’s minds with corrupt and foreign modes of religion, drive them, as if goaded by the furies, to the indulgence of every passion, and the commission of every vice. I am in doubt as to what I should conceal, or how far I ought to speak out ; for I dread lest, if I leave you ignorant of any particular, I should give room for carelessness, or, if I disclose the whole, that I should too much awaken your fears. Whatever I shall say, be assured that it is less than the magnitude and atrociousness of the

affair would justify, though it may be sufficient to set us properly on our guard. That the bacchanalian rites have subsisted for some time past in every country in Italy, and are at present performed in many parts of this city also, I am sure you must have been informed, not only by report, but by the nightly noises and horrid yells that resounded from every part ; but still you are ignorant of the nature of that business. Part of you think it is some kind of worship of the gods ; others, some allowable sport and amusement, and that, whatever it may be, it concerns but a few. As to what regards the number, if I tell you that they are many thousands, and without order, you must necessarily be terrified to excess, unless I farther acquaint you who and what sort of persons they are. First, then, a great part of them are women, and this was the source of the evil ; the rest are males, but nearly resembling women ; actors and pathics, in the vilest crimes ; night revellers, hurried on by wine, noise of instruments, and clamours, to a degree of mad enthusiasm. The conspiracy, as yet, has no strength ; but it has abundant means of acquiring strength, for its numbers increase daily. Your ancestors would not allow that you should ever assemble without some good reason ; that is, either when the standard was erected on the Janiculum, and the army led out on occasion of elections ; or when the tribunes proclaimed a meeting of the commons, or some of the magistrates summoned you to it. And they judged it necessary that wherever a multitude was, there should be a lawful governor of that multitude present. Of what kind, do you suppose, are the meetings of these people ? In the first place, being held in the night, and, in the next, being composed promiscuously of men and women ? If you knew at what ages the males are initiated, not only your compassionate feelings, but your modesty would be shocked. Romans, can you think youths initiated under such oaths as theirs are fit to be made soldiers ? That wretches, brought out of that temple of obscenity, should be trusted with arms ? Shall these, contaminated with their own foul debaucheries, and those of others, be the champions for the chastity of your wives and children ?

16. " But the mischief were less if they were only effeminated by their practices ; of that the disgrace would chiefly affect themselves ; if they refrained their hands from outrage,

and their thoughts from fraud. But never was there in the state an evil of so great magnitude, or one that extended to so many persons, and comprehended so many acts of wickedness. Whatever deeds of villany have of late been committed through lust, whatever through fraud, whatever through violence, they have all, be assured, proceeded from that association alone. They have not yet perpetrated all the crimes for which they combined. The impious assembly at present confines itself to outrages on private citizens, because it has not yet acquired force sufficient to crush the commonwealth ; but the evil increases and spreads daily ; it is already too great to find employment among the private ranks of life, and aims its views at the body of the state. Unless you take timely precautions, Romans, their nightly assembly may become as large as this, held in open day, and legally summoned by a consul. At this present moment, they dread your collected body ; but in a short time, when you shall have separated and retired to your several dwellings, they will again come together. They will hold a consultation on the means of their own safety, and, at the same time, of your destruction. Thus united, they will cause terror to every one. You therefore ought to pray that all your kindred may have behaved with wisdom and prudence ; and if passion, if madness, has dragged any of them into that abyss, to consider such a person as the relation of those with whom he conspired for the perpetration of every wickedness, and not as one of your own. I am not quite free from anxiety lest some, even of yourselves, may have erred through mistake ; for nothing is more apt to deceive by specious appearances than false religion. When the authority of the gods is held out as a pretext to cover vice, we become fearful, lest, in punishing the crimes of men, we may violate some divine right connected therewith. But from any scruple of that sort you are entirely freed by numberless decisions of the pontiffs, decrees of the senate, and answers of the aruspices. How often, in the ages of our fathers, was it given in charge to the magistrates to prohibit the performance of any foreign religious rites ; to banish strolling sacrificers and soothsayers from the forum, the circus, and the city ; to search for and burn books of divination ; and to abolish every mode of sacrificing that was not conformable to the Roman practice ? For they, who had a thorough knowledge

of every divine and human law, maintained that nothing tended so strongly to the subversion of religion as foreign sacrifices. Thus much I thought necessary to mention to you beforehand, that no vain scruple might disturb your minds when you should see us demolishing the places resorted to by the bacchanalians, and dispersing their impious assemblies. In doing this, we shall be favoured and approved by the gods; who, being incensed at the profanations offered to their majesty by those people's lusts and crimes, have drawn forth their proceedings from hidden darkness into the open light; and who have directed them to be exposed, not that they may escape with impunity, but in order that they may be punished and suppressed. The senate have commissioned me and my colleague to hold an inquisition extraordinary concerning that affair. What is requisite to be done by ourselves in person we will do with energy. The charge of posting watches through the city during the night we have committed to the inferior magistrates; and, for your parts, it is incumbent on you, according to the several duties assigned you, and in the several places where you will be placed, to execute vigorously whatever orders you shall receive; and to use your best endeavours that no danger or tumult may arise from the treachery of the party involved in the guilt."

17. They then ordered the decrees of the senate to be read, and published a reward for any discoverer who should bring any of the guilty before them, or give information against any of the absent, adding, that "if any person accused should fly, they would limit a certain day on which, if he did not obey their summons, and appear to answer, they would condemn him, without waiting for his return; and if any one should be charged who was out of Italy, they would allow him a longer time to come and make his defence." They then issued an edict, that "no person whatever should presume to buy or sell any thing for the purpose of leaving the country, or to receive or conceal any such; nor by any means aid or abet any persons about to migrate." On the assembly being dismissed, great terror spread throughout the city; nor was it confined merely within the walls, or to the Roman territory, for in every quarter of Italy the people, on being informed by letters from their friends of the decree of the senate, of what passed in the assembly,

and of the edict of the consuls, began to be much alarmed. During the night which succeeded the day in which the affair was made public, great numbers, attempting to fly, were seized and brought back by the triumvirs, who had posted guards at all the gates; and informations were lodged against many, some of whom, both men and women, put themselves to death. It was said that above seven thousand of both sexes had been sworn into the association; but it appeared that the heads of the conspiracy were two Catinii, Marcus and Lucius, citizens of Rome; Lucius Opiturnus, a Faliscian, and Minius Cerrinius, a Campanian: that from these proceeded all their criminal practices, and that these were the chief priests and founders of the sect. Care was taken that they should be apprehended as soon as possible. They were brought before the consuls, and, confessing their guilt, saved them the trouble of a long and formal trial.

18. But so great were the numbers that fled, that many people suffered severely thereby, in their lawsuits and their substance; insomuch that the pretors, Titus Mænius and Marcus Licinius, were obliged, under the direction of the senate, to adjourn their courts for thirty days, until the inquiries should be finished by the consuls. As the persons against whom charges were brought did not appear to answer, nor could be found in Rome, it became necessary for the consuls to make a circuit of the country towns, and there to make their inquiries, and hold the trials. Those who, as it appeared, had been only initiated, repeating after the priest, and in the most solemn form, the prescribed imprecations, but who had not themselves committed, or compelled others to commit, any of those acts to which they were bound by the oath,—all such they left in prison. But those who had forcibly committed personal outrage or murders, or were stained with the guilt of false evidence, counterfeit seals, forged wills, or other frauds, all these they punished with death. A greater number were executed than thrown into prison; indeed, the multitude of men and women who suffered in both ways was very considerable. The consuls delivered the women who were condemned to their relations, or to those in whose direction they were, that they might inflict the punishment in private; but if there did not appear any proper person of the kind to execute the sentence, they were punished in public. A charge

was then given to demolish all the places where the bacchanalians had held their meetings; first in Rome, and then throughout all Italy; excepting those wherein should be found some ancient altar or consecrated statue. With regard to the future, the senate passed a decree, "prohibiting the performance of any the like rites in Rome or in Italy;" and ordering that "in case any person should believe some such kind of worship incumbent on him and necessary, and that he could not, without offence to religion, and incurring guilt, omit it, he should represent this to the city pretor, and the pretor should lay the business before the senate. If permission were granted by the senate, when not less than one hundred members were present, then those rites might be performed, provided that no more than five persons should be present at the sacrifice, and that they should have no common stock of money, nor any president of the ceremonies, nor priest."

19. Another decree connected with this was then made, on a motion of the Consul Quintus Marcius, "that the business respecting the persons who had served the consuls as informers should be proposed to the senate, when Spurius Postumius should have finished his inquiries and returned to Rome." They voted that Minius Cerrinius, the Campanian, should be sent to Ardea, to be kept in custody there; and that a caution should be given to the magistratés of that city to guard him with more than ordinary care, so as to prevent not only his escaping, but his laying violent hands on himself. Spurius Postumius soon came to Rome, and, on his proposing the question concerning the reward to be given to Publius Æbutius and Hispala Fecenia, for their services in discovering the proceedings of the bacchanalians, the senate passed a vote, that "the city questors should give to each of them, out of the public treasury, one hundred thousand asses;* and that the consuls should desire the plebeian tribunes to propose to the commons, as soon as convenient, that Publius Æbutius should be deemed to have served out his time in the army, that he should not be compelled to military duty, nor should any censor assign him a horse at the public charge."† They voted also, that "Hispala Fecenia

* 322l. 18s. 4d.

† Those to whom the censor assigned a horse were bound to serve. But as liberty was granted to Æbutius to serve or not,

nia should enjoy the privileges of alienating her property by gift or deed ; of marrying out of her rank, and of choosing a guardian, as if a husband had conferred them by will ; that she should be at liberty to wed a man of honourable birth, and that such person marrying her should not thereby incur any disgrace or disparagement ; and that the consuls then in office and their successors should take care that no injury should be offered to Hispala, but that she might live in safety. That it was the opinion and desire of the senate that all these things should be so ordered."—All these particulars were proposed to the commons, and executed, according to the vote of the senate ; the consuls at the same time being authorized to determine respecting the impunity and rewards of the other informers.

20. Quintus Marcius, having completed the inquiries in his district, prepared at length to proceed into the province of Liguria, for the service of which he received a supply of three thousand Roman foot and one hundred and fifty horse, with five thousand Latine foot and two hundred horse. The same province and the same numbers of horse and foot had been voted to his colleague, and they received the armies which, during the preceding year, the consuls Caius Flaminius and Marcus Æmilius had commanded. They were also ordered by a decree of the senate to raise two new legions, and they demanded from the allies and Latines twenty thousand foot and one thousand three hundred horse ; besides all which, they levied three thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse, all which troops, except the legions, were ordered to march into Spain to re-enforce the army employed there. The consuls, therefore, while themselves were kept busy in holding the inquisitions, had delegated to Titus Mænius the charge of enlisting the troops. When the trials were finished, Quintus Marcius first marched against the Apuan Ligurians. While he pursued these into very remote fastnesses, which had always served them as lurking-places and receptacles, he was surrounded in a dangerous defile, enclosed by eminences, which were occupied by the enemy. Here four thousand soldiers fell, and

as he chose, it became necessary that the censor should be thus restrained, by a vote of the senate, from assigning him a horse ; otherwise, if one had been assigned him, whether willing or not, he must have served.

three standards of the second legion, with eleven ensigns of the Latine allies, were taken; abundance of arms were likewise lost, being thrown away by the men, because they impeded their flight through the woody paths. The Ligurians ceased to pursue sooner than the Romans to fly. As soon as the consul had effected his escape out of the enemy's territories, he disbanded the troops in the country of their friends, in order to conceal the greatness of the loss sustained. But he could not obliterate all memorial of his misconduct; for the pass where the Ligurians put him to flight had gotten the name of the Marcian pass.

21. Before the public received an account of this affair from Liguria, a letter from Spain was read to them, which produced a mixture of joy and grief. Caius Atinius, who, two years before, had gone to that province in quality of pretor, fought, in the territory of Asta, a pitched battle with the Lusitanians, in which six thousand of the enemy were killed, the rest routed, driven from the field, and their camp taken. He then marched, at the head of the legions, to attack the town of Asta, which he took with little more trouble than he met at the camp; but, approaching the wall too carelessly, he received a wound, of which he died a few days after. On reading a letter, acquainting them with the propretor's death, the senate voted that a courier should be sent to overtake the Pretor Caius Calpurnius, at the port of Luna, and inform him that it was the will of the senate that he should hasten his journey, lest the province should be without a governor. The courier reached Luna on the fourth day, but Calpurnius had set out some days before. In Hither Spain, Lucius Manlius Acidinus, who had come into that province at the same time when Caius Atinius came into his, fought a battle with the Celtiberians, in which neither party could claim the victory farther than this, that the Celtiberians retreated during the following night, and left the Romans at liberty to bury their dead and collect the spoils. In a few days after, the Celtiberians, with a more numerous force, attacked the Romans near the town of Calaguris. Writers have not mentioned the cause that rendered them weaker after their numbers were increased, but they were defeated in the battle; twelve thousand of their men were killed, more than two thousand taken, their camp falling into the hands of the Romans; and it is probable, if the conqueror's

career had not been stopped by the arrival of his successor, he would have reduced Celtiberia to entire subjection. Both the new pretors drew off their armies into winter quarters.

22. About the time when the news of these transactions in Spain arrived at Rome the games called Taurilia* were celebrated, during two days, on a religious account. Then Marcus Fulvius exhibited games, which he had vowed in the Ætolian war, and which lasted ten days. Many artists, out of respect to him, came from Greece on the occasion; and now, for the first time, the Romans were entertained with contests of wrestlers; they were also presented with a hunt of lions and panthers; the shows being exhibited in a manner that fell but little short of the abundance and variety of the present age. The nine days' solemnity was then performed, showers of stones having fallen for three days in Picenum; and fires from heaven had, as was said, in various places, slightly burnt the clothes of many persons. By order of the pontiffs, a supplication of one day's continuance was added on account of the temple of Ops, in the capitol, being struck by lightning. The consul sacrificed victims of the larger kinds, and purified the city. At the same time an account was brought from Umbria of an hermaphrodite, twelve years old, being found there. This was deemed a prodigy of direful import, and orders were given that it should be removed instantly out of the Roman territories, and put to death. During this year a body of transalpine Gauls came into Venetia, without committing depredation or hostility, and pitched on a spot for building a town, not far from that where Aquileia now stands. Ambassadors were sent from Rome, over the Alps, on this business, who were told that "the state had given those people no authority to quit it, nor did their countrymen know what they were doing in Italy." About this time Lucius Scipio celebrated games, which he said he had vowed during the war with Antiochus; they lasted ten days, and the expense was defrayed by a contribution made to him for the purpose by the kings and states of Asia. Valerius Antias asserts that, after his condemnation and the sale of his effects, he was sent into Asia to adjust

* Games in honour of the infernal deities, instituted in the reign of Tarquin the Proud, on occasion of a malignant disorder that had attacked pregnant women. Black bulls were sacrificed, whence the name.

disputes between the kings Antiochus and Eumenes, where he received these contributions for those games, and collected artists; although he had made no mention of them on the conclusion of the war, in which he said they had been vowed. On his return from this embassy, however, he introduced the subject in the senate.

23. As the year was now drawing to a conclusion, Quintus Marcius, then abroad, was soon to go out of office. Spurius Postumius, after having conducted the inquisitions with the utmost care and propriety, held the elections. Appius Claudius Pulcher and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus were chosen consuls. Next day were elected pretors, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Afranius Stellio, Caius Atilius Serranus, Lucius Postumius Tempeanus, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus. [A. U. C. 567. B. C. 185.] Towards the close of the year the Consul Spurius Postumius reported that in travelling along the coasts of Italy, for the purpose of holding the inquisitions, he found two colonies deserted, Sipontum, on the upper sea, and Buxentum on the lower; on which, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, Titus Mænius, city pretor, constituted Lucius Scribonus Libo, Marcus Tuccius, and Cneius Bebius Tamphilus, commissioners for conducting colonists thither. The war at this time apprehended with King Perseus and the Macedonians, owed not its origin either to Perseus himself, or to the causes to which it has been generally attributed. The original idea of it was conceived by Philip, and, if he had lived some time longer, he would himself have entered on the prosecution of it. In the conditions imposed on him when he was vanquished there was one particular that chagrined him more than all the rest: this was, his being deprived by the senate of the liberty of wreaking his vengeance on such of the Macedonians as had revolted from him in the course of the war; although, from Quintus having left that point undetermined when he was adjusting the articles of pacification, he had entertained some hopes of being indulged in it. Afterward, on the defeat of Antiochus at Thermopylæ, the armies separated, and the Consul Acilius carried on the siege of Heraclea, while Philip besieged Lamia. As soon as Heraclea was taken, however, Philip was ordered to retire from the walls of Lamia, and the town was surrendered to the Romans; this also gave him great offence. The consul, indeed, in

some measure soothed his resentment; for, when he was hastening to Naupactum, where the Ætolians had reassembled after their flight, he gave Philip permission to make war on Amynander and Athamania; and to annex to his dominions the cities which the Ætolians had taken from the Thes-salians. Without much difficulty he expelled Amynander from Athamania, and got possession of several cities. He also reduced under his dominion the city of Demetrias, a place of great strength, and convenient in every respect; with the whole of the Magnesian state. Afterward, finding that several cities in Thrace, through an abuse of the liberty which they had lately acquired, and to which they had not been accustomed, were distracted by dissensions among their leading men, he, by uniting himself to the parties that were worsted in their disputes with their countrymen, made himself master of them all.

24. By these means the king's displeasure was silenced for the present; but he never abandoned the project of collecting such a force during peace as would enable him to maintain a war, whenever fortune should offer an occasion. He augmented the revenues of his kingdom, not only out of the produce of the lands and the port duties, but also by setting men to work again in old mines which had been neglected, and opening new ones in many places. Then (in order to restore the country to its former degree of population, which had been diminished by the calamities of war), besides compelling every one to marry and educate children, he transplanted a great multitude of Thracians into Macedonia, and, during a long suspension of arms, he employed the utmost assiduity in augmenting, by every possible means, the strength of his kingdom. Causes afterward occurred which served to revive his resentment against the Romans. Complaints were made by the Thessalians and Perrhæbians of his holding possession of their towns, and, by ambassadors from King Eumenes, of his having forcibly seized the cities of Thrace, and transplanted great numbers of their people into Macedonia. These had been received in such a manner as plainly evinced that they were not thought unworthy of attention. What made the greatest impression on the senate was, their having been informed that Philip aimed at the possession of Ænus and Maronea: as to the Thessalians, they regarded them less. Ambassadors came likewise from

the Athamanians, informing,—not that their frontiers were encroached on, or part of their territory taken,—but that all Athamania had been brought under the dominion and jurisdiction of the king. Exiles from Maronea also appeared, who had been expelled by the king's troops for having supported the cause of liberty ; who reported that not only Maronea, but Ænus too, was held in subjection by him. Ambassadors came from Philip to defend his conduct, asserting that, in all these cases, nothing had been done without permission from the Roman commanders. That “the states of the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Magnesians, and the nation of the Athamanians, with Amynder, had all been engaged in the same cause with the Ætolians. That after the expulsion of King Antiochus, the consul, being himself busy in reducing the towns of Ætolia, had named Philip to subdue those states, and they remained subject to him in consequence of their being conquered by his arms.” The senate, unwilling to come to any decision in the king's absence, sent Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus, and Tiberius Sempronius, ambassadors, to adjust those disputes. Previous to their arrival, a convention of all those states who had disputes with the king was summoned to meet at Tempe in Thessaly.

25. There, when all were seated (the Roman ambassadors in the character of arbitrators, the Thessalians, Perrhæbians, and Athamanians, professedly as accusers, and Philip as defendant), the heads of the embassies, according to their several tempers, their favour, or their hatred towards the king, spoke, some with acrimony, others with mildness. There was a dispute concerning Philippopolis, Trica, Phaloria, Eurymenæ, and the other towns in their neighbourhood. The point in controversy was, whether these towns were the property of the Thessalians, forcibly taken from them and held by the Ætolians (for from these it was acknowledged that Philip had received them), or whether they were originally belonging to the Ætolians : Acilius having granted them to the king, on the condition that “they had been the property of the Ætolians ; and that their siding with the Ætolians had been voluntary, and not the effect of compulsion and force.” The question in regard to the towns of the Perrhæbians and Magnesians turned on the same points ; for the Ætolians, by holding possession of them occasionally,

had introduced confusion with respect to the real proprietors of them all. To these particulars, which were matter of discussion, the Thessalians added complaints that, "if these towns were now restored to them, they would come into their hands in a state of desolation and depopulated; for besides the loss of inhabitants through the casualties of war, Philip had carried away five hundred of their young men of the first rank into Macedonia, where he employed them in servile offices unbecoming their birth; and had taken pains to render useless whatever he should be compelled to restore to the Thessalians. That Thebes in Phthiotis was the only seaport they had, which formerly produced much profit and advantage to the inhabitants of Thessaly; but that Philip, having collected there a number of ships of burden, made them steer their course past Thebes to Demetrias, by which means he turned thither the whole commerce by sea. That he did not now scruple to offer violence even to ambassadors, who, by the law of nations, are everywhere held inviolable, but had laid an ambush for theirs who were going to Titus Quintius. In consequence of these proceedings, the Thessalians were all seized with such dread, that not one of them, even in their own states, or in the general assemblies of the nation, ventured to open his lips: for the Romans, the defenders of their liberty, were far distant, and a severe master close at their side, debarring them from the kindness of those their allies. If speech were not free, what else could be said to be so? at present they confided so far in the protection of the ambassadors, as to utter their groans rather than words; but, unless the Romans would apply some remedy to abate both the fears of the Greeks bordering on Macedonia, and the arrogance of Philip, his having been conquered and their being set at liberty would prove utterly fruitless. Like a stubborn, unmanageable horse, he required to be checked with a strong bridle." These bitter expressions were used by the last speakers among them; those who spoke before having endeavoured by mildness to mitigate his resentment, requesting him "to make allowances for people pleading in defence of their liberty, to lay aside the harshness of a master, and in the course of his conduct show himself a friend and ally; to imitate the Roman people, who wished to unite their allies to them by the ties of affection rather than fear." When the Thessalians had finished, the

Perrhæbians pleaded that Gonnocondylos, to which Philip had given the name of Olympias, belonged to Perrhæbia, and ought to be restored to them; and the same demand was made with respect to Makea and Ericinium. The Athamanians claimed a restoration of liberty, with the forts Athenæus and Pœtneus.

26. Philip, that he might maintain the appearance of an accuser rather than of a defender, began his discourse also with complaints. He alleged that "the Thessalians had taken by force of arms Menelais in Dolopia, a town belonging to his dominions; likewise Petra in Pieria, by the same Thessalians and the Perrhæbians; that they had refused under their government Xyniæ, which unquestionably belonged to Ætolia; and had, without any colour of justice, subjected to the jurisdiction of the Thessalians Paracheleis, in the territory of Athamania. As to the charges brought against him concerning an ambush laid for ambassadors, and of seaports being frequented or deserted, the one was quite ridiculous (as if he were to account for what harbours merchants or sailors should frequent), and the other, the constant tenour of his conduct refuted. During a number of years, ambassadors had never ceased carrying complaints against him, sometimes to the Roman generals, at others to Rome to the senate, though none of them had ever been injured, even in words. They said, indeed, that an ambush was once laid for some who were going to Quintius, but they are silent in regard to consequences. It was evident that the authors sought for groundless imputations, because they had none to offer that were founded in truth." He said that "the Thessalians insolently and wantonly abused the indulgence of the Roman people, too greedily drinking, as it were, strong draughts of liberty after a long thirst; and thus, in the manner of slaves lately set free, made trial of their voices and tongues, and prided themselves in invectives and railings against their masters." Then, hurried on by passion, he added, that "his sun had not yet set;" which expression not only the Thessalians, but the Romans also, took as a menace to themselves, and a murmur of displeasure followed his words. When this at length ceased, he proceeded to answer the ambassadors of the Perrhæbians and Athamanians. He observed, "the cases of the cities of which they had spoken were the same. The Consul Acilius and the Romans gave

them to him, when they were the property of enemies. If the donors chose to resume what they had given, he knew he must submit ; but in that case they would, for the gratification of inconstant and unprofitable allies, do injury to a more useful and more faithful friend : for no favour produced less permanent gratitude than the gift of liberty, especially among people who were ready to make a bad use of it." After hearing all parties, the ambassadors pronounced their judgment that "the Macedonian garrison should be withdrawn from the cities in question, and that the kingdom of Macedonia should be limited within its ancient boundaries. That with regard to the injuries complained of by the several parties, in order to decide the controversies between those states and the Macedonians, it would be requisite to institute a regular judicial inquiry into their several rights."

27. This determination gave grievous offence to the king, and the ambassadors proceeded thence to Thessalonica, to give a hearing to the business concerning the cities of Thrace. Here the ambassadors of Eumenes said, that "if the Romans wished that *Ænus* and *Maronea* should be independent, the king had nothing more to say than to recommend it to them to leave those people free in fact, though not in words ; nor to suffer their kindness to be intercepted by another. But, if they had not so much concern for the cities in Thrace, it was much more reasonable that places which had been under the dominion of *Antiochus*, and were become the prize of victory, should be granted to Eumenes than to Philip ; and that either on account of his father *Attalus*' deserts in the war waged by the Roman people against Philip himself, or on account of his own, in sharing all the toils and dangers on land and sea, during the war with *Antiochus*. Besides, he had the previous judgment of the ten ambassadors to that purpose ; who, when they granted the *Chersonesus* and *Lysimachia*, surely yielded at the same time *Ænus* and *Maronea* ; which, even from the proximity of situation, were but a sort of appendages to the larger gift : for as to Philip, what merits towards the Roman people or what right of dominion could he plead for having put garrisons into those places which were at so great a distance from the borders of Macedonia ? They then desired that the Romans would order the *Maronites* to be called, from whom they would receive more positive information of the condition of those cities." The *Maronite* am-

bassadors being called in, declared that "not in one spot of the city, as was usually the case, but in every quarter of it, there was a party of the king's troops, so that Maronea was full of Macedonians; in consequence of which, the party that showed themselves disposed to humour the king domineered over the rest; they alone had liberty of speaking either in the senate or assemblies of the people. All posts of eminence they assumed to themselves, or conferred on whom they thought proper. Persons of the best characters, and who had a regard for liberty and for the laws, were either expelled their country or obliged to sit down in silence, deprived of all share in the public honours, and exposed to insolence." They added also a few words respecting their right to the frontier places, affirming that "Quintus Fabius Labeo, when he was in that country, had fixed as a boundary-line to Philip the old royal road leading to Paroreia, in Thrace, which in no place leads towards the sea; and that Philip afterward drew a new one in another direction, in order to comprehend the cities and lands of the Maronites."

28. Philip, in his reply, took quite another course than when answering the Thessalians and Perrhæbians, and spoke to the following effect: "I dispute not now with the Maronites, or with Eumenes, but with you yourselves, Romans, from whom, as it would seem, I am not to expect any justice. The cities of Macedonia which had revolted from me during a suspension of arms, I wished to have been restored to me; not that they would have made any great accession to my dominions, because the towns are small in themselves, and, besides, are situated on the extremities of the frontiers; but because the example was of consequence towards retaining the rest of the Macedonians in their allegiance. This was refused me. In the Ætolian war I was ordered by the Consul Manius Acilius to lay siege to Lamia, and when I had there undergone a long course of fatigue in fighting and constructing works, and was on the point of mounting the walls, the consul recalled me when the city was almost in my possession, forcing me to draw off my troops. As some consolation for this hard treatment, I received permission to seize on some forts rather than cities of Thessaly, Perrhæbia, and Athamania. Of these also Quintus Cæcilius has deprived me. The ambassadors of Eumenes just now took for granted, it seems, that whatever belonged to Antiochus

would more properly be given to Eumenes than to me. My judgment of the matter is widely different : for, not on the Romans proving victorious, but on their engaging in the war, Eumenes' continuance on his throne depended. The obligation, therefore, lies on his side, not on yours ; whereas, so far was any part of my dominions from being in danger, that, when Antiochus voluntarily offered to purchase my alliance, with three thousand talents and fifty decked ships, guarantying to me all the cities of Greece of which I had heretofore been in possession, I rejected that offer. I avowed myself his enemy, even before Manius Acilius brought over any army into Greece. In conjunction with that consul, I supported whatever share of the war he gave me in charge. To serve the succeeding consul, Lucius Scipio, when he proposed leading his army by land to the Hellespont, besides giving him a passage through my dominions, I also made roads for him, built bridges, supplied him with provisions, and convoyed him not only through Macedonia, but likewise through Thrace, where, besides other business, I had the task of keeping the barbarians quiet. In requital of this zealous, not to call it meritorious conduct towards you, whether would it be proper in you, Romans, to grant me some addition to my dominions by acts of generosity, or to ravish from me what I possessed, either in my own right or through your kindness. The cities of Macedonia, which you acknowledge to have belonged to my kingdom, are not restored. Eumenes comes to plunder me as he would Antiochus, and covers his most shameless and groundless chicanery under the decree of the ten ambassadors, the very circumstance that completely refutes and convicts him : for is it not expressly and plainly set down in that writing, that the Chersonese and Lysimachia are granted to Eumenes ; and is there any mention therein of *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and the cities of Thrace ? That which he did not dare even to ask from them shall he obtain from you, as if under their grant ? Much depends on the character in which you choose to consider me. If you are resolved to persecute me as a foe, proceed to act as you have begun : but, if you have any consideration of me as a king in friendship and alliance with you, I must entreat you not to judge me deserving of such injurious treatment."

29. The king's discourse made a considerable impression

on the ambassadors; they therefore left the matter in suspense, by this indecisive resolution, that "if the cities in question were granted to Eumenes by the decree of the ten ambassadors, they would make no alteration. If Philip subdued them in war, he should, by the laws of war, hold them as the prize of victory. If neither were the case, then their judgment was, that the decision should be referred to the senate; and, in order that every particular might be open for deliberation, the garrisons in those cities should be withdrawn." These causes, among others of less weight, alienated the regard of Philip from the Romans; so that, in all appearance, the war was not set on foot by his son Perseus for any fresh causes, but rather was, for these causes, bequeathed by the father to the son. At Rome there was hitherto no suspicion of a war with Macedonia. Lucius Manlius, proconsul, had by this time come home from Spain. He demanded a triumph from the senate assembled in the temple of Bellona, and his demand was justified by the greatness of his exploits, but contradicted by precedent; for it was a rule, established by ancient practice, that no commander who had not brought home his troops should triumph, unless he had delivered up the province to his successor in a state of thorough subjection and tranquillity. However, the senate took a middle course, and ordered that Manlius should enter the city in ovation. He carried in the procession fifty-two golden crowns, one hundred and twenty-two pounds' weight of gold, with sixteen thousand three hundred pounds of silver; giving public notice in the senate that his questor, Quintus Fabius, was bringing ten thousand pounds' weight of silver, and eighty of gold, which he intended to carry likewise to the treasury. During that year there was a formidable insurrection of the slaves in Apulia. Lucius Postumius, pretor, governed the province of Tarentum; who conducted, with much severity, inquiries into a conspiracy of peasants, who had infested the roads and public pastures with robberies. Of these he passed sentence on no less than seven thousand; many of whom made their escape, and many were punished. The consuls, after being long detained in the city by the levies, set out at length for their provinces.

• 30. This year Caius Calpurnius and Lucius Quintius, the two pretors in Spain, drew their troops out of winter quar-

ters early in spring, and making a junction of them in Bæturia, for they were resolved to proceed in the operations of the campaign with united zeal and harmony, advanced into Carpetania, where the enemy's camp lay. At a small distance from the towns of Hippo and Toletum a fight began between the foraging parties; and, as re-enforcements came up on both sides from the camps, the entire armies were by degrees drawn out into the field. In this irregular kind of battle, the advantage of the ground and the manner of fighting were in favour of the enemy. The two Roman armies were routed, and driven into their camp; but the enemy did not pursue the advantage which the others' fears afforded them. The Roman pretors, lest their camp should be attacked next day, gave orders, without noise, for decamping, and led away their army in the dead of the following night. At the first dawn the Spaniards came up to the rampart in battle array; and finding, beyond their expectation, that the camp was deserted, marched in, and made prey of whatever had in the hurry and confusion been first left behind; and then, returning to their own station, remained quiet for several days. Of the Romans and allies, there were killed in the battle and pursuit five thousand men, out of whose spoils the enemy furnished themselves with arms. They then advanced to the river Tagus. All the intermediate time the Roman pretors employed in collecting aid from the allied Spanish states, and recovering the spirits of their men from the dismay occasioned by their defeat. When they judged their strength sufficient, and found themselves called on by the soldiers to lead them against the enemy, that they might blot out their former disgrace, they took post at the distance of twelve miles from the river Tagus; but decamping thence at the third watch, and marching in order of battle, reached the bank of the river at the break of day. The enemy's camp was on a hill at the other side of the river. Having discovered two fords, Calpurnius immediately led his army across through that on the left. All this time the enemy continued motionless, surprised at the sudden arrival of the Romans, and busy in consultations, when they might have greatly distressed the troops during their hurry and confusion in passing the river. The Romans brought all over, even to their baggage, which they threw together in a heap. Seeing the enemy at length begin to move, and

having no time for fortifying a camp, they formed their line of battle, placing in the centre the fifth legion, serving under Calpurnius, and the eighth under Quintius, which composed the principal strength of their army. From hence, all the way to the enemy's camp, they had an open plain, where there could be no danger of ambush.

31. When the Spaniards saw the two bodies of Romans on their side of the river, they resolved to fall on them before they should unite and put themselves in order: rushing therefore suddenly out of the camp, they advanced to battle at full speed. The fight, in the beginning, was urged with great fury; the Spaniards being elated by their late success, and the Roman soldiery inflamed to rage by a discomfiture to which they were unaccustomed. The centre, consisting of two legions of the greatest bravery, fought with the utmost vigour. The enemy, seeing that they could not be forced from their ground by any other means, resolved to make their attack in form of a wedge; and this body, becoming continually more numerous and more compact, pressed hard on them. When the Pretor Calpurnius perceived the distress of this part of his line, he hastily despatched two lieutenant-generals, Titus Quintilius Varus and Lucius Juventius Thalna, to animate the courage of the two legions; who were ordered to say, that "all hopes of victory, and of retaining possession of Spain, depended entirely on them. If they should give ground, not a man in that whole army would ever see Italy; no, nor even the farther bank of the Tagus." He himself, at the head of the cavalry of the two legions, making a small circuit, charged the flank of the wedge, which was pressing on his centre. Quintius likewise, with his cavalry, charged the enemy on the other flank; but the horsemen of Calpurnius fought with far greater spirit, while the pretor himself exceeded all others. He was the first that struck down one of the enemy, and he pushed in among the troops in the centre in such a manner that it was hard to distinguish to which side he belonged. Thus the horse were animated by the extraordinary valour of the pretor, and the infantry by that of the horse. The foremost centurions, seeing the pretor in the midst of the enemy's weapons, were struck with shame. They all, therefore, earnestly pressed the standard-bearers, urging them to carry forward the ensigns, and the soldiers

to follow with speed. All set up the shout anew, and made an attack as violent as if they were rushing down a hill. Like a flood, therefore, they broke and bore down the enemy in dismay; nor was it possible to withstand them, pouring in one after another. The Spaniards, flying to their camp, were pursued by the cavalry; who, mixing in the crowd of the runaways, penetrated into it. Here the fight was renewed by the troops left to guard the same, and the Roman horsemen were obliged to dismount. While they were engaged, the fifth legion came up with the rest of the troops. The Spaniards were cut to pieces in all parts of the camp, not more than four thousand men making their escape. Of these, about three thousand, who kept their arms, took post on a mountain at a small distance, and one thousand, who were in general but half-armed, dispersed through the country. The army of the enemy had contained thirty-five thousand men, of whom that very small number survived the battle. One hundred and thirty-three standards were taken. Of the Romans and allies, a few more than six hundred fell; and, of the provincial auxiliaries, about one hundred and fifty. The loss of five military tribunes, and a few Roman horsemen, was the only circumstance that made the victory appear to have been dearly earned. The army lodged in the enemy's camp, as they had not had time to fortify one of their own. Next day Calpurnius, in an assembly, commended the behaviour of the cavalry; making them presents of horse-furniture, and declaring publicly that, through their bravery, principally, the enemy had been defeated, and their camp stormed and taken. Quintius, likewise, gave chains and clasps to his men. A great many centurions also, of both the armies, received gratuities, especially those who were in the centre.

32. The consuls, as soon as they had finished the levies, and other business necessary to be done at Rome, led the army into their province, Liguria. Sempronius, marching from Pisa against the Apuan Ligurians, ravaged their lands, and burnt their villages and forts, until he opened that difficult country as far as the river Macra and the harbour of Luna. The enemy posted themselves on a mountain, which had from old times served their forefathers as a retreat; but the difficulty of access here also was overcome, and they

were dislodged by force. The good conduct and success of Appius Claudius against the Ingaunian tribe was not inferior to that of his colleague, for he defeated them in several battles. He also stormed six of their towns, in which he made a vast number of prisoners, beheading forty-three of the chief promoters of the war. The time of the elections now drew near; but Claudius came home to Rome sooner than Sempronius, to whom the business of presiding at the elections had been allotted, because his brother, Publius Claudius, stood candidate for the consulship. His competitors of patrician rank were Lucius Æmilius, Quintus Fabius Labeo, and Servius Sulpicius Galba, who had been candidates before, and now renewed their suit, for the honour of which they had been disappointed, and which was the more justly due to them, as it had been refused before. Besides, as it was not lawful that more than one patrician should be appointed, this made the competition, being four, still more obstinate. Claudius was the only new one. The plebeian candidates likewise were men in high esteem—Lucius Porcius, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus: these had been disappointed, but had cherished hopes of attaining the honour at some future time. The general opinion was, that Quintus Fabius Labeo and Lucius Porcius Licinus would be the successful persons; but Claudius the consul, unattended by his lictors, canvassed with his brother through all parts of the forum, notwithstanding the loud remonstrances of his opponents, and the greater part of the senate, who insisted that "he ought to remember the duty of a consul of the Roman people in preference to that of the brother of Publius Claudius: to sit on his tribunal, content himself with presiding, and remain a silent spectator of the business." Yet nothing could restrain his immoderate zeal. The election was also several times interrupted by contentions between the plebeian tribunes; some of whom struggled hard in opposition to the consul, and others in support of the cause which he favoured. At last Appius conquered all opposition, so as to set aside Fabius, and bring in his brother. Thus was Publius Claudius Pulcher elected consul, beyond his own, and indeed the general expectation. Lucius Porcius Licinus carried his election also. The contest among the plebeian candidates was decently conducted, and not with intemperate violence, like that of Claudius. Then was held the election of pretors,

in which were chosen Caius Decimius Flavius, Publius Sempronius Longus, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus Nævius Matho, Caius Sempronius Blaesus, and Aulus Terentius Varro. Such were the occurrences, at home and abroad, of this year, during the consulate of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius.

33. In the beginning of the following year [A. U. C. 568. B. C. 184], (Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius being consuls), Quintus Cæcilius, Marcus Bæbius, and Tiberius Sempronius, who had been sent to adjust the matters in dispute between the kings Philip and Eumenes and the states of the Thessalians, came home, and gave an account of the execution of their commission. They also introduced to the senate ambassadors from those kings and states. On this occasion the same arguments were repeated by all parties which had been urged before the ambassadors in Greece. The senate then decreed that a new embassy, with Appius Claudius at its head, should be sent into Macedonia and Greece, to know whether the several states had been restored to the Rhodians, Thessalians, and Perrhæbians. They were farther instructed to take care that the garrisons should be withdrawn from Ænus and Maronea, and that all the sea-coast of Thrace should be made free and independent of Philip and the Macedonians. They were ordered also to go to Peloponnesus, where the former ambassadors had at their departure left affairs in a more unsettled state than they would have been if they had not come thither. For, besides other matters, they were even sent away without an answer by the Achæan council, nor were they allowed an audience. On this subject Quintus Cæcilius made a heavy complaint. At the same time, the Lacedæmonians deplored the demolition of their walls, the carrying off their poor people into Achaia, the selling of them there, and the depriving them of the laws of Lycurgus, by which the nation had been supported unto that time. On this the Achaians, endeavouring chiefly to apologize for having refused a meeting of the council, recited a law which enacted that a council should not be summoned except on business of peace or war, or when ambassadors should come from the senate with letters or written instructions. That this kind of excuse should not be made in future, the senate observed to them, that they ought in prosperity to take care that Roman ambassadors

should at all times have an opportunity of applying to their council in like manner as the senate always gave them audience at any time when they wished it.

34. After those ambassadors had received their answers, Philip, being informed that he must yield up the states and evacuate the towns in question, was highly enraged against all, yet vented his fury on the Maronites in particular. He gave a charge to Onomastus, who had the command of the seacoast, to put to death the leaders of the opposite party. This man employed a person called Cassander, a partisan of the king's, who had resided a long time in Maronea, and he, introducing a body of Thracians by night, put the inhabitants to the sword, as if the city had been taken by storm. When the Roman ambassadors complained of his acting with such cruelty towards the innocent Maronites, and with such presumption towards the Roman people, in killing, as enemies, those very persons to whom the senate had adjudged the restoration of liberty, he averred that "none of those matters concerned him, or any one belonging to him; that they had quarrelled among themselves, and fought, because some wished to bring over their state to his side, others to that of Eumenes. That the truth of this might be readily ascertained, and they had only to ask the Maronites themselves." For he was confident that, while they were all under the impression of terror since the late massacre, not one of them would dare to utter a word against him. Appius said that "this would be looking for obscurity in a case already clear. But if he wished to remove the guilt from himself, let him send Onomastus and Cassander, the actors in that business, to Rome, that the senate might examine them." At first these words so entirely disconcerted the king, that neither his colour nor his looks remained unchanged; then, after some time, having collected his thoughts, he replied, that "he would send Cassander, who had been in Maronea, if it was their desire: but as to Onomastus, how could that matter affect him, who, so far from being in Maronea, was not even near it?" He was more careful of Onomastus, as a more valued friend, yet he dreaded him much more lest he might make discoveries. He had in person, however, conversed with him on the subject, and he had confided in him as an agent in many similar transactions. Cassander is supposed to have been taken off, that the truth might not be divulged.

being poisoned by persons sent to escort him through Epirus to the seacoast.

35. The ambassadors quitted the conference in a manner which plainly showed that they were not at all pleased with any thing that had passed ; and Philip, with a full resolution to have recourse again to arms. But his strength being as yet insufficient for that purpose, he resolved, in order to procure delay, to send his younger son Demetrius to Rome, to clear him from the above-named charges ; and, at the same time, to deprecate the wrath of the senate. Philip had strong expectations that the young man himself, having, while a hostage at Rome, exhibited proofs of a princely disposition, would have a good deal of influence now. Meanwhile, under the pretence of carrying succour to the Byzantians, but in reality with design to strike terror into the chieftains of the Thracians, he marched into their country, utterly defeated them in an engagement, in which he took their commander, Amadocus, prisoner, and then returned to Macedonia, having first despatched emissaries to persuade the barbarians living near the Danube to make an irruption into Italy. The Roman ambassadors, who had been ordered to go from Macedonia into Achaia, were expected daily in Peloponnesus ; and, in order that the Achæans might settle their plans of conduct towards them beforehand, their pretor, Lycortas, summoned a general council. Here the affair of the Lacedæmonians was taken into consideration. It was observed that “ from enemies they were turned accusers ; and there was reason to fear lest they should prove more formidable after having been conquered than when they had arms in their hands ; for, in the war, the Achæans had the Romans as allies in their cause ; now, the same Romans were more favourable to the Lacedæmonians than to the Achæans. Even Areus and Alcibiades, both restored from exile through the kindness of the Achæans, had undertaken an embassy to Rome, in prejudice to a nation to which they were so much obliged, and had spoken against it with so much animosity, that people might suppose they had been banished from their country, instead of being restored to it.” A general clamour arose, requiring him to put the question on each of them by name ; and as every thing was directed by passion, not by reason, they were condemned to die. In a few days after this the Roman ambassadors arrived, and a council was summoned to meet them at Clitor, in Arcadia.

36. Before any business was entered on, the Achæans received an alarming proof how little impartiality they were likely to experience in the proceedings on this cause, when they saw in company with the ambassadors Areus and Alcibiades, whom, in their last council, they had condemned to death, yet none of them dared to utter a word. Appius acquainted them that the senate was much displeased at those matters of which the Lacedæmonians made complaint before them; "first, the massacre at Compasium of those who, in obedience to the summons of Philopœmen, came to stand a trial; then, after such barbarity, the having demolished the wall of that famous city, having abrogated its laws, of the greatest antiquity, and abolished the discipline of Lycurgus, so famed throughout the world." After Appius had spoken to this effect, Lycortas, both because he was pretor, and because he was of the faction of Philopœmen, the adviser of all that was done at Lacedæmon, answered him thus: "Appius Claudius, it is a harder task on us to plead before you than we had lately before the senate at Rome; for then we had to answer the accusations of the Lacedæmonians, but now we stand accused by yourselves, before whom our cause is to be heard. But to this disadvantage of situation we submit with this hope, that you will hear us with the temper of a judge, laying aside the character of an advocate, in which you just now appeared. For my part, at least, though the matters of which the Lacedæmonians complained formerly in this place before Quintus Cæcilius, and afterward at Rome, have been just recapitulated by you, yet I shall consider myself as answering not to you, but before you, to them. You charge us with the murder of those men who, being called out by the Pretor Philopœmen to trial, were put to death. This I think a charge of such a nature that it ought not to be advanced against us, either by you, Romans, or by any in your presence; and I will tell you why. One of the articles in the treaty which you signed is, that the Lacedæmonians should not intermeddle with the cities on the coast. At the time when they took arms, assaulted in the night, and seized on those towns with which they had been forbidden to interfere—if, I say, Titus Quintius, if a Roman army had been in Peloponnesus, as formerly, the captured and oppressed inhabitants would surely have fled to them for relief. As you were at a great distance, to whom

else would they fly but to us, your allies, whom they had seen at a former time bringing aid to Gythium; whom they had seen in conjunction with you besieging Lacedæmon on their account? In your stead, therefore, we undertook a just and rightful war. Other men approve this step, and even the Lacedæmonians cannot censure it; the gods themselves also, by giving us the victory, have shown their approbation of it; how then can acts done under the laws of war be, by any means, made matter of civil disquisition? Of these acts, however, the greatest part nowise affect us. The summoning to trial men who had excited the populace to arms, who had stormed and plundered the towns on the coast, who had murdered the principal inhabitants, was our act; but the putting them to death, when they were coming into the camp, was yours, Areus and Alcibiades, who now arraign us, and not ours. The Lacedæmonian exiles, and, among the rest, these two men, who were then in our camp, thinking the attack meant against them, as they had chosen the maritime towns for their residence, made an assault on those by whose means they had been banished, and who, they perceived with indignation, would not suffer them even to grow old in exile with safety. Lacedæmonians therefore, not Achæans, slew Lacedæmonians; nor is it of any consequence to dispute whether they were slain justly or unjustly.

37. "But then, Achæans, the abolition of the laws and ancient discipline of Lycurgus, with the demolition of the walls,—these acts were unquestionably yours; now, how can both these charges be brought forward by the same persons, since the walls of Lacedæmon were built, not by Lycurgus, but a few years ago, for the purpose of subverting the discipline of that very man? The tyrants erected them lately, as a fortress and defence for themselves, not for the state; and, if Lycurgus should rise this day from the dead, he would rejoice at seeing them in ruins, and would say that he now acknowledged his country and ancient Sparta. You ought not to have waited for Philipœmen or the Achæans; you should have removed and razed, with your own hands, every vestige of tyranny; for these were the foul scars left on you by slavery. And as, during almost eight hundred years, while you were without walls, you were free, and for some time even chiefs of Greece; so, after being bound with walls, as

with fetters, you were slaves for one hundred years. As to what concerns the abrogating their laws, I conceive that the tyrants took away the ancient laws of Lacedæmon, and that we did not deprive them of their own laws, which they did not possess, but gave them ours ; nor did we neglect the interests of their state when we made it a member of our council, and incorporated it with ourselves, so that the whole Peloponnesus should form one body and one council. If, indeed, we had imposed on them laws different from those under which we lived ourselves, in that case I think they might complain of being treated unfairly, and consequently be displeased. I know, Appius Claudius, that the kind of discourse which I have hitherto used is not proper either for allies addressing their allies, or for an independent nation ; but, in truth, for slaves pleading before their masters. For, if the herald's proclamation, in which you ordered the Achæans, in the first place, to be free, was any thing more than empty sound ; if the treaty is valid, if the alliance and friendship are maintained on equal terms, why do not I inquire what you Romans did, on the taking of Capua, as well as that you demand an account of our conduct towards the Lacedæmonians when we conquered them in war ? Some persons were killed, suppose by us. What ! did not you behead the Campanian senators ! We demolished their walls : you not only destroyed the walls, but you took the city and the lands. But you say, the Achæans enjoy, in appearance, a league on equal terms, but, in reality, a precarious state of freedom, while the Romans enjoy supreme power. I am sensible of it, Appius ; and if I ought not, I do not remonstrate ; but, I beseech you, let the difference between the Romans and Achæans be as great as it may, not to place people who are foes to both on an equal footing with us, your allies, or even on a better : for as to setting them on an equality, that we ourselves have done, when we gave them our own laws, when we made them members of the Achæan council. Vanquished,—they are not content with what satisfies their conquerors ; foes,—they demand more than allies enjoy : What we have ratified by our oaths, what we have consecrated as inviolable, to eternal remembrance, by records engraved in stone, they want to abolish, and to load us with perjury. Romans, for you we have high respect ; and, if such is your wish, dread also ; but we more respect and dread the im-

mortal gods." He was heard with general approbation, and all declared that he had spoken as became the dignity of his office; so that it was easily seen that the Romans could not support their ascendancy by gentle methods. Appius then said, that "he earnestly recommended it to the Achæans to show a compliant temper, while it was in their power to act voluntarily; lest they might presently be obliged by compulsion to act against their wills." These words inspired universal affliction, and effectually deterred them from refusing compliance. They only requested the Romans "to make such alterations respecting the Lacedæmonians as they should judge proper, and not involve the Achæans in the guilt of annulling what they had sanctioned with their oaths." And then, nothing more was done than to reverse the sentence lately passed on Areus and Alcibiades.

38. In the beginning of this year, when the business of assigning the provinces to the consuls and pretors was taken under consideration at Rome, Liguria was decreed to the consuls, there being no war anywhere else. As to the pretors,—Caius Decimius Flavius obtained, by lot, the city jurisdiction; Publius Cornelius Cethegus, that between citizens and foreigners; Caius Sempronius Blæsus, Sicily; Quintus Nævius Matho, Sardinia; he had also the charge of making inquisition concerning poisons: Aulus Terentius Varro, Hither Spain, and Publius Sempronius Longus, Farther Spain. From the two latter provinces deputies arrived about this time—Lucius Juvencius Thalna, and Titus Quintilius Varus. These represented to the senate that the formidable war of Spain had been brought to a fortunate conclusion; they therefore requested, that in consideration of such happy success, a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods, and permission granted to the pretors to bring home the armies. The senate decreed a thanksgiving for two days, and ordered that the question respecting the armies should lie over, and be proposed when those for the consuls and pretors should be under consideration. A few days after this, they voted to the consuls for Liguria two legions each, which had been commanded by Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius. With regard to the armies in Spain, there was a warm contention between the new pretors and the friends of the absent ones, Calpurnius and Quintius. On each side were plebeian tribunes, and on

each a consul. The former threatened, if the senate voted for bringing home the armies, to protest against their decree; the latter, that if such a protest were made, they would not suffer any other business to proceed. At last, the interest of the absent pretors was overpowered, and a decree of the senate passed, that "the pretors should enlist four thousand Roman foot and four hundred horse, with five thousand foot and five hundred horse of the Latine confederates, whom they should carry with them into Spain. That, when they should have divided these between the legions, whatever number should then be in each legion above five thousand foot and three hundred horse should be discharged, beginning with those who had served out their number of campaigns, and proceeding to the rest according to their respective merits, in the service under Calpurnius and Quintius."

39. No sooner was this dispute ended than another arose in consequence of the death of a pretor, Caius Decimius. There stood candidates for his place Cneius Sicinius and Lucius Pupius, who had been ediles the year before; Caius Valerius, the flamen of Jupiter; and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who, though he did not appear in the white gown, because he was curule edile elect, yet pressed his suit with more warmth than any of them. The contest lay between the latter two. Fulvius at the beginning seemed to have an equal chance with the flamen, and afterward surpassed him; on which some of the plebeian tribunes insisted that he ought not to be admitted a candidate, because one person could neither hold nor administer two offices, especially curule ones, at the same time; while others of them gave their opinion that he ought to be exempted from the laws, in order that the people might have the power of electing pretor the person whom they wished. The Consul Lucius Porcius was, from the beginning, inclined to refuse admitting him a candidate; and afterward, wishing to have the countenance of the senate in so doing, he called the members together, and told them that "he desired their judgment in the case, where a curule edile elect, without any colour of law, and setting a precedent insufferable in a free state, stood candidate for the pretorship; for his part, unless they determined otherwise, he intended to hold the election according to law." The senate voted that the Consul Lucius Porcius should recommend to Quintus Fulvius not to

obstruct the assembly (soon to be held for substituting a pretor in the room of Caius Decimius) from proceeding according to law. When the consul, in pursuance of this decree, applied to him on the subject, he answered, that "he would do nothing unworthy of himself," by which indeterminate answer he left room for people to interpret his intention agreeably to their wish, and that he meant to submit to the direction of the senate. But, in the assembly, he urged his pretensions with more eagerness than ever: remonstrating that the consul and the senate were forcibly depriving him of the kindness intended for him by the Roman people; exciting a clamour against a second post of honour being conferred on him; as if it were not manifest that, when elected pretor, he must instantly abdicate the edileship. The consul, seeing the candidate's obstinacy increase, and the public favour incline to him more and more, dissolved the assembly, and summoned a meeting of the senate; where, in a full house, a vote was passed, that "inasmuch as the directions of the senate had produced no effect on Flaccus, the affair concerning him should be laid before the people." A general assembly was accordingly summoned, and the consul made a full representation of the matter. Fulvius still remained inflexible. He returned thanks to the Roman people "for the great zeal which they had shown in their desire to make him pretor, as often as opportunity had been given them of declaring their sentiments;" and assured them that "it was his resolution not to disappoint such instances of the attachment of his countrymen." This determined declaration increased the ardour of the people for his cause to such a degree, that he would undoubtedly have been chosen pretor if the consul had admitted him to stand. The tribunes maintained a violent altercation, both with their colleagues and with the consul, until at length the senate passed a decree, that "whereas the obstinacy of Quintus Flaccus, and the ill-judged party zeal of many among the people, had prevented the assembly for filling the place of a pretor from being held according to law, the senate therefore gave their judgment that the present number of pretors was sufficient; that Publius Cornelius should hold both jurisdictions in the city, and celebrate the games of Apollo."

40. No sooner was this election stopped by the prudence and firmness of the senate, than another ensued with greater

heat of contest ; both because the subject was of greater importance, and the competitors more numerous and more powerful. The censorship was contended for by the following candidates : Lucius Valerius Flaccus, Publius Scipio, Lucius Scipio, Cneius Manlius Vulso, and Lucius Furius Purpureo, patricians ; Marcus Porcius Cato, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, Tiberius Sempronius Longus, Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, plebeians. ⁴ But all of them, both plebeians and patricians, of the highest ranks, were left far behind by Marcus Porcius. So great were the powers of this man's mind, that he seemed able to attain to any situation he aimed at. No one qualification for the management of business, either public or private, was wanting to him ; being equally knowing in ordinary matters as in those of the state. Some have been advanced to the highest honours by their knowledge of the law, others by their eloquence, some by military renown ; but this man's genius was so versatile, and so well adapted to all things, that, in whatever way engaged, it might be said that nature formed him for that alone. In war he was the most courageous, distinguishing himself highly in many remarkable battles ; and when he arrived at the highest posts, was likewise the most consummate commander. Then, in peace, if information were wanted in a case of law, he was the wisest counsellor ; if a cause was to be pleaded, the most eloquent advocate. Nor was he one of those whose oratory was striking only during their own lives, without leaving after them any monument of it. On the contrary, his eloquence still lives, and will long live, consecrated to memory by writings of every kind. His orations are many, spoken for himself, for others, and against others ; for he harassed his enemies, not only by supporting prosecutions against them, but by maintaining causes in opposition to them. Enmities in abundance gave him plenty of employment ; nor was it easy to tell whether the nobility laboured harder to keep him down, or he to oppress the nobility. His temper, no doubt, was austere, his language bitter, and unboundedly free ; but he was never ruled by his passions, his integrity was inflexible, and he looked with contempt on popularity and riches. In spare diet, in enduring toil and danger, his body and mind were like steel ; so that even old age, which brings all things to dissolution, did not break his vigour. In his eighty-sixth year he stood a trial, pleaded his own cause, and published his speech ;

and, in his ninetieth year, he brought Servius Galba to trial, before the people.

41. On this occasion of standing for the censorship, the nobility, as they had done through the whole course of his life, endeavoured to obstruct his promotion. All the candidates, likewise, except Lucius Flaccus, who had been his colleague in the consulship, combined to disappoint him of the office, not merely with a view to their own success in preference to him, or because it would grieve them to see a new man in it, but because from one who had received offence from most of them, and who wished to retaliate, they apprehended a harsh severity in his administration, that would endanger the reputations of many: for, even while soliciting, he uttered frequent menaces, and upbraided them with endeavouring to exclude him, because they dreaded an impartial and courageous execution of the duty of censor, at the same time giving his interest to Lucius Valerius. He said, that "he was the only colleague in conjunction with whom he could correct modern profligacy, and re-establish the ancient morals." People were so inflamed by such discourses, that, in spite of the opposition made by the nobility, they not only made Marcus Porcius censor, but gave him for his colleague Lucius Valerius Flaccus. Immediately after the election of censors the consuls and pretors went abroad to their provinces, except Quintus Nævius, who was detained from going to Sardinia for no less than four months by inquiries concerning poisonings, a great part of which he held out of the city, in the corporate towns and villages; for that method was judged the more eligible. If we are to credit Valerius Antias, he condemned two thousand men. Lucius Postumius, the pretor to whose lot the province of Tarentum had fallen, made discoveries of numerous conspiracies of the peasants, and, with great care, finished the remainder of the inquiries concerning the bacchanalians. Many of these, who had not appeared on being summoned, or had deserted their bail, were then lurking in that part of Italy; some of them he sentenced to punishment, and others he sent under a guard to the senate to Rome, where they were all committed to prison by Publius Cornelius.

42. In Farther Spain, the Lusitanians being weakened by their losses in that war, matters remained quiet. In Hither Spain, Aulus Terentius took the town of Corbia, in Suesse-

ania, after a regular siege, and sold the prisoners, after which the troops had rest in their winter-quarters in that province also. The former pretors, Caius Calpurnius Piso and Lucius Quintius, came home to Rome, and the senate, with great cheerfulness, voted a triumph to both. Caius Calpurnius triumphed first, over the Lusitanians and Celtiberians. He carried in procession eighty-three golden crowns, and twelve thousand pounds' weight of silver. In a few days after Lucius Quintius Crispinus triumphed over the same Lusitanians and Celtiberians, bearing in his triumph the same quantity of gold and silver. The censors Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius, while the public were full of anxious curiosity, blended with fear, made their survey of the senate; out of which they displaced seven members, one of them a man of consular rank, highly distinguished by nobility of birth and honourable employments—Lucius Quintius Flaminius. It is mentioned as a practice instituted in early times, that the censors should annex marks of censure to the names of such as they degraded from the senate. There are severe speeches of Cato against those whom he either expelled the senate or degraded from the equestrian rank, but by far the most so is that against Lucius Quintius. Had he spoken in the character of prosecutor previous to the censure, and not in that of censor after it, not even his brother Titus, if he were his colleague, could have suffered Quintius to remain in the senate. Among other charges, he objected to him that he had, by hopes of extraordinary presents, prevailed on Philip, a Carthaginian and a favourite, to accompany him into his province of Gaul: that this youth, in order to enhance the merit of his complaisance to the consul, used frequently, in wanton squabbling, to upbraid him for having quitted Rome just before the show of gladiators. It happened that, while they were at a feast and heated with wine, a message was brought into the place of entertainment, that a Boian of high rank had come as a deserter with his children, and wished to see the consul, that he might in person receive his assurance of protection. He was accordingly introduced into the tent, and began to address him through an interpreter: but while he was speaking, Quintius said to his favourite, "Since you were deprived of the show of gladiators, have you a mind to see this Gaul dying?" The boy giving a sort of assent, between jest and earnest, the consul,

drawing a sword that hung over his head, first struck the Gaul as he was speaking, and then, when he was running out, and imploring the faith of the Roman people and of those present, ran him through the side.

43. Valerius Antias, who never read Cato's speech, and only gave credit to a tale published without authority, tells the story in another manner, but similar to this in cruelty. He writes that, at Placentia, the consul invited to an entertainment a woman of ill fame, with whom he was desperately enamoured. There, displaying his importance to this female, he told her, among other matters, with what severity he had conducted the inquisitions, and how many he had then in prison under sentence of death, whom he intended to behead. Then she, being next him on the couch, said, that having never seen any one beheaded, she was very desirous of seeing an execution; on which the indulgent lover ordered one of those wretches to be dragged to the spot, and there cut off his head. The deed of death, whether committed as the censor or as Valerius reports it, was barbarous and inhuman; that, in the midst of feasting and cups, when it is customary to offer libations to the gods, and to pray for happiness, a human victim should be butchered, and the table stained with his blood, and this for the entertainment of an acknowledged wanton. In the latter part of Cato's speech he proposes to Quintius, that if he denied this fact, and the others of which he accused him, he should give security to abide a legal trial; but if he confessed them, could he suppose, he asked him, that any one would be sorry for his disgrace; the disgrace of him who, in the midst of a feast, being intoxicated with wine, had sported with the blood of a human being.

44. In the review of the knights Lucius Scipio Asiaticus was degraded. In fixing the rates of taxation, also, the censor's conduct was harsh and severe to all ranks of men. He ordered that people should give account, on oath, of women's dress, and ornaments, and carriages, exceeding in value fifteen thousand asses;* and that slaves younger than twenty years, which, since the last survey, had been bought for ten thousand asses† or more, should be estimated at ten times their value; and that on all these articles a tax

* 48*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

† 32*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*

should be laid of three denariuses* for each thousand asses.† Water running or carried into any private building or field the censors took away; and all buildings or sheds in possession of private persons that projected into public ground, they demolished within thirty days. They then engaged contractors for executing national works with the money decreed for that purpose,—for paving cisterns with stone, for cleansing the sewers, and forming new ones on the Aventine, and in other quarters where hitherto there had been none. Then, dividing their tasks, Flaccus built a mole at Nephthunia, on the coast, and made a road through the Formian mountains. Cato purchased for the use of the people two halls, the Mænian and Titian, in the street Lau-turniæ, and four shops; erecting on that ground a court of justice, which was called the Porcian. They farmed out the several branches of the revenue at the highest prices, while they allowed very small profits for the services on which the money was to be expended. But the senate, overcome by the prayers and lamentations of the publicans, ordered those bargains to be revoked, and new agreements to be made; on which the censors, by an edict, prohibited the persons who had eluded the former contracts from being concerned in the new ones, and farmed out all the same branches at prices very little reduced. This censorship was very remarkable, producing abundance of animosities, and drawing on Marcus Porcius, to whom all the harshness was attributed, much uneasiness during the remainder of his life. This year two colonies were established, Potentia in Picenum, and Pisaurum in the Gallic territory. Six acres were given to each settler. The same commissioners had the ordering of both colonies, and the division of the lands. Quintus Fabius Labeo, Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, and Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, the consuls of that year, performed nothing memorable at home or abroad.

45. The consuls elected for the ensuing year were Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labeo. [A. U. C. 569. B. C. 183.] These, on the ides of March, the first day of their assuming the administration, proposed to the senate to determine their provinces and those of the pretors. The pretors appointed were Caius Valerius, flamen of Jupi-

* 1s. 11½d.

† 3l. 4s. 9d.

ter, who had been candidate the year before, Spurius Postumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Sisenna, Lucius Pupius, Lucius Julius, and Cneius Sicinius. Liguria was ordered to be the province of the consuls, and the armies were assigned to them which had been commanded by Publius Claudius and Marcus Porcius. The two Spains, without being put to the lot, were reserved for the pretors who held them the year before, and also their own armies. The pretors were ordered to regulate their casting lots in such a manner, that the flamen of Jupiter should have one or other of the judicial employments in the city. The foreign jurisdiction fell to his lot; that between citizens to Cornelius Sisenna. Sicily was assigned to Spurius Postumius; Apulia to Lucius Pupius; Gaul to Lucius Julius; Sardinia to Cneius Sicinius. Lucius Julius was ordered to hasten to his province, because some transalpine Gauls, as was mentioned before, having made their way through the forests into Italy by an unknown road, were building a town in the country, now the district of Aquileia. The pretor received a charge to interrupt their proceedings, as far as possible, without having recourse to arms; and if it should be necessary to stop them by force, to give information to the consuls; one of whom was, in that case, directed to march his legions against those Gauls. Towards the close of the preceding year an assembly had been held for the purpose of electing an augur, in the room of Cneius Cornelius deceased, when Spurius Postumius Albinus was chosen.

46. In the beginning of this year Publius Licinius Crassus, chief pontiff, died, in whose room was appointed Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, and Caius Servilius Geminus was raised to the place of chief pontiff. On occasion of the funeral of Publius Licinius a largess of flesh was distributed to the people, and one hundred and twenty pairs of gladiators fought. The funeral games lasted three days; and after the games a public feast was given. During the feast, and while the couches were spread over the forum, a storm came on, with violent gusts of wind, which compelled most of the people to pitch tents in that place, which, on the weather clearing up in a short time after, were removed. This occasioned a general remark, that they had fulfilled a prophecy which soothsayers had pronounced among the decrees of the fates, that inevitably tents would be pitched in

the forum. No sooner were they eased of the apprehensions caused by this prophecy than they were struck with new ones, by showers of blood falling for two days in the area of Vulcan's temple. The decemvirs ordered a supplication for the expiation of the prodigy. Before the consuls set out for their provinces they introduced the foreign embassies to an audience of the senate; and at no time was there in Rome such a number of people from countries beyond sea: for, as soon as it became generally known, through the nations bordering on Macedonia, that accusations and complaints against Philip were listened to by the Romans with some degree of attention, and that many had profited by having complained,—all these states and nations, and even individuals, on their own accounts (for he was a troublesome neighbour to every one), flocked to Rome, with hopes of obtaining either redress of their injuries, or, at least, the consolation of expressing their griefs. An embassy came also from King Eumenes, with his brother Athenæus, to complain of the Macedonian in not withdrawing his garrisons out of Thrace; and likewise of his sending succours into Bithynia to Prusias, who was at war with Eumenes.

47. To Demetrius, who was then very young, was assigned the task of speaking to their representations; and it was no easy matter to retain in memory either all the particulars set forth, or what was proper to be said in reply: for the charges were not only numerous, but most of them exceedingly frivolous; of disputes about boundaries; of men forced away, and cattle driven off; of justice, either partially administered or refused; of sentences respecting property, founded either on force or influence. The senate perceived that Demetrius could not explain any of those matters distinctly, and that the information which they could obtain from him was not sufficiently clear: at the same time the youth, through inexperience and bashfulness, was much embarrassed. They therefore ordered that he should be asked whether he had received from his father any written instructions on those points; and on his answering that he had, they thought it the best and properest way to receive the answers of the king himself on each particular head, and immediately called for the writing, but afterward they gave him leave to read it to them himself. Here were his apolo-

gives on each several subject concisely stated in a narrow compass : in some cases that he had acted in conformity to the determinations of the ambassadors ; in others, that the fault of not conforming to them lay not in him, but actually in the persons themselves who accused him. He had interspersed, also, remonstrances on the injustice of those determinations, and the partiality that appeared when those matters were discussed before Quintus Cæcilius ; as well as the indecent and unmerited insults thrown on him by all. The senate remarked on these tokens of his temper ; nevertheless, on the young man apologizing for some things, and undertaking that others should be performed in the manner most agreeable to the senate, they ordered the answer to be given him, that "in no instance was his father's conduct either more proper or more pleasing to the senate than in his choosing, whatever the nature of those transactions might be, to send his excuses for them to the Romans by his son Demetrius. That the senate could leave unnoticed, forget, and put up with many past matters, and believed also that they might place confidence in Demetrius ; for though they restored his person to his father, they still had his mind as a hostage, and were convinced that, as far as was compatible with his duty as a son, he was a friend to the Roman people. That, out of regard to him, they would send ambassadors into Macedonia, in order that, if any thing which ought to have been done was left undone, it might then be effected, but still without any vindictive retrospect to former omissions. That they would be glad if Philip also were sensible that he was indebted to his son Demetrius for the continuance of the good understanding between him and the Romans."

48. These honourable declarations, intended to add to the dignity of his character, proved to the young man the cause of immediate envy, and of not far distant ruin. The Lacedæmonians were next introduced, when many insignificant disputes were agitated. Those which might be deemed important were, whether the persons condemned by the Achæans should be reinstated or not ; whether others were justly put to death ; and whether the Lacedæmonians should continue in the Achæans' council, or, as had formerly been the case, that single state in Peloponnesus should have separate independence. It was determined that the condemned should

be reinstated, and the sentences passed reversed; that Lacedæmon should continue in the Achæan council, and that this decree should be committed to writing, and signed by the Lacedæmonians and Achæans. Quintus Marcius was sent ambassador into Macedonia, with orders likewise to take a view of the affairs of the allies in Peloponnesus; for there also disturbances still subsisted, in consequence of the old quarrels, and Messene had revolted from the Achæan confederacy. But if I were to trace out the cause and progress of this war, I should deviate from the resolution which I laid down of not meddling with foreign transactions farther than they are connected with the affairs of Rome.

49. One event deserves to be mentioned: that, notwithstanding the Achæans had a superiority in the war, Philopœmen, their pretor, was taken prisoner, on his march to secure Corone, which the enemy meant to attack, being, with a small party of horse, surprised and overpowered in a dangerous defile. It is said that he might have effected his own escape by the aid of some Thracians and Cretans who were with him, but was hindered by the shame of deserting his horsemen, the most distinguished youths in the nation, selected by himself a short time before. In procuring these an opportunity of getting clear of the narrow defile, while closing the rear in person and sustaining the assaults of the enemy, his horse fell; by the shock of his fall and the weight of his horse, which fell on him, he was very nearly killed on the spot; for he was now seventy years old, and his strength had been greatly impaired by a tedious illness, from which he was but just recovered. Lying thus on the ground, the enemy, pouring on, secure him. Out of respect to his character, however, and from regard to his merit, they raised him up with as much care as if he had been their own commander, took every pains to revive him, and carried him out of that remote valley into the road. Their joy was so great and so unexpected that they scarcely believed their own senses: however, some of them sent on messages to Messene that the war was at an end, for they were bringing Philopœmen prisoner. At first it seemed so incredible, that the messenger was deemed either a liar or a madman. Afterward, when numbers came, one after another, all asserting the same, the matter was at length believed; and, before they well knew whether he was come near the city, every human being, free-

men and slaves, with even women and children, poured out to enjoy the sight ; insomuch that the multitude quite closed up the gate, all pushing eagerly forward, and seeming as if nothing but the testimony of their own eyes could convince them of so momentous an event. Those who conducted Philopœmen made their way with difficulty through the crowd so as to pass into the gate, but the rest of the way was quite shut up by the thick press of the people ; and as the greatest part of these were excluded from the sight, they suddenly rushed into a theatre which was contiguous to the street, and all with one voice insisted that he should be brought thither for the public view. The magistrates and leading men were afraid that compassion for so great a man, on seeing him, would cause some disturbance, as many would be moved by respect for his former dignity when they compared it with his present condition ; and many by the recollection of his transcendent merits. They therefore placed him where he could be seen at a distance, and quickly after hurried him away out of the sight of the people, who were told by the Prætor Dinocrates that the magistrates wanted to ask him some questions on points that were material to the success of the war. Having carried him thence to the senate-house, and called the council together, they began a consultation on the measures to be pursued.

50. The evening came on while they were still at a loss, not only about other matters, but even about the place where he might be kept with proper security during the following night. They were quite confounded when they reflected on the greatness of his former fortune and merit ; and they neither dared to undertake the guarding of him at their houses, nor thought it safe to trust the custody of him to any individual. At last some persons reminded them of a public treasury under ground, enclosed with hewn stone : into this place he was put down in chains, and a huge stone was placed over it with the help of a machine. After having thus determined to trust to the place rather than to any man for his safe keeping, they waited with impatience for the following day, when the whole population to a man, mindful of his former services to the state, declared their opinion that they ought to spare him, and to seek through his means some remedies for their present misfortunes. But the authors of the revolt, in whose hands was the management of affairs, held a secret con-

sultation, in which it was unanimously resolved to put him to death ; but whether they should do it speedily or defer it, was for some time a matter of doubt. The party that wished his immediate execution at length prevailed, and a person was sent to him with poison. We are told that, on receiving the cup, he only asked if Lycortas, the other commander of the Achæans, and the horsemen, had escaped ; and being told that they were safe, he said, "It is well ;" and then, intrepidly drinking the contents of the cup, expired shortly after. The actors of this piece of cruelty, however, did not long rejoice at his death ; for the Messenians were vanquished in the war, and compelled, by the positive demands of the Achæans, to deliver up the guilty into their hands. The bones of Philopœmen were restored, and his funeral was attended by the whole Achæan council, who heaped on him not only every human, but even several divine honours. Historians, both Greek and Latin, entertain so high an idea of this man, that several of them have recorded, as a circumstance remarkably distinguishing this year, that three illustrious commanders died in it, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Publius Scipio ; placing him on an equal footing with the most consummate generals of the two most powerful nations.

51. Titus Quintius Flaminius came ambassador to King Prusias, who had incurred the jealousy of the Romans by entertaining Hannibal after the flight of Antiochus, and by making war on Eumenes. Soon after his arrival, among other discourse, he remonstrated with Prusias on his giving protection to a person who, of all men living, was the most inveterate enemy to the Roman nation ; who had incited, first, his own country, and afterward, when its power was reduced, King Antiochus, to make war on Rome. In consequence of this, or of Prusias having himself a desire of gratifying Flaminius and the Roman people, he conceived the design of killing Hannibal, or delivering him into their hands. Immediately after the first conference, therefore, with Flaminius, a party of soldiers was sent to guard Hannibal's house. The Carthaginian had always foreseen some such end of his life ; for he knew the implacable hatred which the Romans bore him, and placed little confidence in the faith of kings. Besides, he had experienced the fickle temper of Prusias, and had for some time dreaded the arrival of Flaminius, as an event fatal to him. Surrounded as

he was by dangers on all sides, in order to have always some passage open for flight, he had made seven doors to his house, of which some were concealed, lest they might be invested by a guard. But the imperious government of kings suffers nothing to remain secret which they choose to discover. The troops formed a circle of guards round the house in such a manner that it was impossible to slip out. Hannibal, on being told that some of the king's soldiers were in the porch, endeavoured to escape through a back door, which was the most private, and whence the passage was least likely to be observed; but, perceiving that to be guarded, and every avenue round to be shut by a body of soldiers, he called for poison, which he had long kept in readiness against such an event, and said, "Let us release the Romans from their long anxiety, since they have not patience to wait for the death of an old man. Flaminius will gain no very great or memorable victory over one unarmed and betrayed. What an alteration has taken place in the behaviour of the Roman people, this day affords abundant proof. Their fathers gave warning to Pyrrhus, their armed foe, then heading an army against them in Italy, to beware of poison. The present generation have sent an ambassador, of consular rank, to persuade Prusias villanously to murder his guest." Then imprecating curses on the head of Prusias and on his kingdom, and calling on the gods, the avengers of violated hospitality, to witness his breach of faith, he drank off the contents of the cup. In this manner did Hannibal end his life.

52. Both Polybius and Rutilius say that Scipio died in this year; but I do not agree either with them or Valerius. Not with them, because I find that in the censorship of Marcus Porcius and Lucius Valerius, the censor himself, Lucius Valerius, was chosen prince of the senate, which place had for the three preceding lustrums been held by Africanus; and if he were alive, unless he had been displaced from the senate, which disgrace no one has recorded, another prince would not have been chosen in his room. The authority of Antias is refuted by the plebeian tribunate of Marcus Nævius, against whom there is extant a speech, signed by Publius Africanus. Now, this Marcus Nævius, in the register of the magistrates, appears to have been plebeian tribune in the consulate of Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius; but he

entered on the tribuneship in the consulate of Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, on the fourth day before the ides of December, from which time to the ides of March, when Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius became consuls, there are three months. Thus it appears that he was living in the tribunate of Marcus Nævius, and might have been prosecuted by him; but that he died before the censorship of Lucius Valerius and Marcus Porcius. The deaths of the three most illustrious men of their respective nations have a similarity, not only in respect to the concurrence of the times, but in this circumstance also, that no one of them met a death suitable to the splendour of his life. In the first place, neither of them died or was buried in his native soil. Hannibal and Philopœmen were taken off by poison: Hannibal breathed his last in exile, betrayed by his host; Philopœmen in captivity, in a prison, and in chains. Scipio, though neither banished nor condemned, yet under prosecution, and summoned as an absent criminal to a trial, at which he did not appear, passed sentence of voluntary exile, not only on himself while alive, but likewise on his body after death.

53. During these transactions in Peloponnesus, whence I digressed, the return of Demetrius with the ambassadors into Macedonia affected people's minds in various manners. The generality of the Macedonians, terrified by the apprehension of an impending war with the Romans, looked with the highest esteem on Demetrius, to whom they owed the continuance of peace; and at the same time destined him to the throne after the demise of his father. They argued that, "although he was younger than Perseus, yet he was born of a wife, and the other of a concubine; that the latter, born of a mother who did not confine her favours to one man, had no likeness to any particular father, whereas the former had a striking resemblance of Philip. Besides, it was probable that the Romans would place him on the throne of his father, as Perseus had no pretensions to their favour." Such was the conversation of people in general. As to Perseus, he was tortured with fear, lest his age alone might not sufficiently secure his interest, his brother having the advantage of him in every other particular; while Philip himself, doubting his own ability of choosing which of them he should leave heir to his dominions, began to think that his younger son encroached on him more than he could wish. He was

sometimes displeased at the numerous attendance of the Macedonians round Demetrius, and chagrined at perceiving that there was a second court during his own lifetime. The young prince no doubt came home with more lofty notions of himself, elated with the honours paid him by the senate, and their having conceded to him what they had refused to his father; insomuch that every mention of the Romans, whatever degree of respect it procured him from the rest of the Macedonians, created an equal degree of envy, not only in the breast of his brother, but also in that of his father; especially after the Roman ambassadors arrived, and the king was obliged to evacuate Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons, and to perform the other articles, either according to the decisions of the former ambassadors, or the late regulations made by the senate. But all this he did with great reluctance, and even with anguish of mind. His feelings of this sort were aggravated by seeing his son more frequently in company with them than with himself; nevertheless, to avoid giving any pretence for an immediate commencement of hostilities, he paid submissive attention to the Romans in every thing; and, in order to turn away their thoughts from a suspicion of any such designs, he led an army into the heart of Thrace, against the Odrysians, Dantheletians, and Bessians. He took the city of Philoppopolis, after it was deserted by the inhabitants, who fled with their families to the tops of the nearest mountains; and, by wasting the country, reduced the barbarians living in the plains to submission. Then, leaving a garrison in Philoppopolis, which was soon after expelled by the Odrysians, he set about building a town in Deuriopus. This is a district of Pæonia, near the river Erigonus, which, flowing from Illyricum through Pæonia, falls into the river Axios. Not far from the old city of Stobæ he built his new one, which he ordered to be called Perseis, in honour of his eldest son.

54. While these things passed in Macedonia, the consuls went to their provinces. Marcellus sent forward an express to Lucius Porcius, the præconsul, to lead up the legions to the new town of the Gaals; which people, on the arrival of the consul, surrendered themselves. There were of these twelve thousand fighting men, most of whom had arms, which they had forced from the inhabitants; all which, to their great mortification, were taken from them, as was

every thing else which they had either acquired by plundering in the country, or had brought along with them. On this they sent ambassadors to Rome to complain of those proceedings, who, being introduced to audience of the senate by the Pretor Caius Valerius, represented that, "in consequence of a redundancy of people in Gaul, they had been compelled by the want of land, and indeed of every thing, to cross the Alps in quest of a settlement. That, finding lands lying uncultivated, they had settled in the country without doing injury to any. They had likewise begun to build a town, which was a proof that they did not come with ill intentions. That some time ago Marcus Claudius sent them a message, that unless they surrendered to him he would march against them; and that preferring a certain, though not very honourable peace, to the uncertainties of war, they had thrown themselves on the protection of Rome before they submitted to its power. That, in a short time after, being ordered to quit the country, they had intended to remove, without murmuring, to whatever part of the world they were able: and that, notwithstanding, their arms, and finally all the property which they had brought with them, were taken from them. They therefore besought the senate and people of Rome not to treat harmless people who had surrendered themselves with greater severity than they would enemies." To this discourse the senate ordered the following answer to be given: that "on one hand, they had not acted properly in coming into Italy, and attempting to build a town, in the territory of others, without permission from any Roman magistrate commanding in that province; yet, on the other hand, the senate did not approve of people who had surrendered being stripped of their property. They would therefore appoint ambassadors, who should go with them to the consuls, and order all their effects to be restored, provided they returned to the place whence they came: and who should also proceed to the other side of the Alps, and give warning to the Gallic states to keep their people at home. That the two countries were separated by those mountains, to be an almost insuperable barrier, which, whoever should pass in future, should meet no better fate than those who first showed them passable." The ambassadors sent were Lucius Furius Purpureo, Quintus Minucius, and Publius Manlius Acidinus. The Gauls, on receiving restitution of all the

effects which had been justly their own, withdrew out of Italy.

55. The transalpine states answered the Roman ambassadors in terms of friendship and kindness. Their elders even found fault with the excessive lenity of the Roman people, in "suffering men to depart with impunity, who, without an order of their nation, left their home, attempted to seize on lands belonging to the Roman empire, and to build a town on them. They ought," they said, "to have suffered severely for their inconsiderate conduct; and as to the restoration of their effects, they expressed a fear lest, in consequence of this too great tenderness, others might be encouraged to attempts of a like nature." They not only entertained the ambassadors, but conferred considerable presents on them. The Consul Marcus Claudius, when he had sent the Gauls out of his province, began to prepare for a war with the Istrians, and wrote to the senate for permission to lead the legions into their country. The senate approved of the measure. They formed an intention of establishing a colony at Aquileia; but were some time divided in opinion whether it should consist of Latines or Roman citizens: at last, however, they passed a vote in favour of a Latine settlement. The commissioners appointed for the purpose were Publius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminus, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. In the same year colonies of Roman citizens were led out to Mutina and Parma. Two thousand men were settled in each colony, on lands which lately belonged to the Boians, and formerly to the Tuscans: they received at Parma eight acres, at Mutina five each. These colonists were conducted by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Titus Æbutius Carus, and Lucius Quintus Crispinus. The colony of Saturnia, also consisting of Roman citizens, was settled on the lands of Caletta, by Quintus Fabius Labeo, Caius Afranius Stellio, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, who assigned to each man ten acres.

56. This year Aulus Terentius Varro, proprætor, fought some successful battles with the Celtiberians, near the river Iberus, in the territory of Auseta, reducing several towns which they had fortified in that quarter. The Farther Spain was quiet during the whole year, Publius Sempronius, the proprætor, being seized with a lingering disorder. In Liguria nothing extraordinary was performed by Quintus Fabius,

the consul. Marcus Marcellus, being recalled out of Isthria to attend the elections, disbanded his army, and came home to Rome. [A. U. C. 570. B. C. 182.] He elected consuls Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus and Lucius Æmilius Paulus. This latter had been curule edile along with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who, after two disappointments, was chosen consul, and from the time of whose consulate this was the fifth year. Then were elected pretors, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, Marcus Valerius Lævinus, Publius Manlius a second time, Marcus Ogulnius Gallus, Lucius Cæcilius Denter, and Caius Terentius Istra. Towards the close of the year a supplication was performed on occasion of prodigies, for people were persuaded that it had rained blood for two days in the court of the temple of Concord; and an account was received that near the coast of Sicily a new island rose out of the sea. Valerius Antias fixes the death of Hannibal in this year, and says that, besides Titus Quintius Flaminius, whose name is mentioned in this business by all writers, Lucius Scipio Asiaticus and Publius Scipio Nasica were sent ambassadors to Prusias on that occasion.

BOOK XL.

CHAP. I. At the commencement of the next year the consuls and pretors settled the distribution of their provinces. For the consuls there was no province to be decreed, except Liguria. The city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Ogulnius Gallus; the foreign, to Marcus Valerius; the Hither Spain, to Marcus Fulvius Flaccus; the Farther, to Publius Manlius; Sicily, to Lucius Cæcilius Denter; and Sardinia, to Caius Terentius Istra. The consuls were ordered to levy troops; for Quintus Fabius had written from Liguria that the Apuans seemed inclined to renew hostilities, and that there was reason to apprehend their making an irruption into the district of Pisæ. From Spain also intelligence was received that the Hither province was in arms; that the war still continued with the Celtiberians; and that in the Farther province, in consequence of the long sickness of the pretor, the dis-

discipline of the army was greatly relaxed through inactivity and intemperance. For these reasons it was decreed that new armies should be raised ; four legions for Liguria, each containing five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse, and to these were added of the Latines fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. These were to complete the two consular armies. They were ordered also to enrol seven thousand foot and six hundred horse of the allies and Latines, and to send them into Gaul to Marcus Marcellus, who, on the expiration of his consulship, was continued in command : for the Spains also there were raised to be sent into both provinces four thousand foot and two hundred horse of Roman citizens ; and of the allies seven thousand foot and three hundred horse. Quintus Fabius Labeo was continued in command for the year with the army that he then had in Liguria.

2. The spring of this year was remarkable for storms. On the day before the feast of Pales a tremendous hurricane arose, and made shocking havoc in many places, both sacred and common. It threw down brazen statues in the capitol ; tore away a gate from the temple of Luna on the Aventine, and dashed it against the wall of the temple of Ceres ; overturned other statues in the great circus, together with the pillars on which they stood ; tore off several cupolas from the tops of temples, which it shattered to pieces and scattered about. This storm was deemed a prodigy, and the aruspices ordered it to be expiated. At the same time expiation was made for a mule with three feet, being said to be foaled at Reate ; and for a temple of Apollo at Formiæ, and another at Caieta, which were said to be struck by lightning. On account of these prodigies twenty of the larger victims were sacrificed, and a supplication of one day's continuance was performed. About the same time information was brought by a letter from Aulus Terentius, propretor, that Publius Sempronius, after struggling with his disorder for more than a year, died in the Farther province ; for which reason the pretors were ordered to make the more haste into Spain. The foreign embassies then had audience of the senate ; and first, those of the kings Eumenes and Pharnaces, and of the Rhodians, complaining of the sufferings of the inhabitants of Sinope. There came also at this time ambassadors from Philip, and the Achæans and Lacedæmonians, to

whom the senate gave answers, after having first heard the report of Marcius, who had been sent to inspect the affairs of Greece and Macedonia. To the Asiatic kings and the Rhodians they answered that they would send ambassadors to examine into those matters.

3. Marcius had increased their anxiety respecting Philip ; for though he acknowledged that the king had complied with the injunctions of the senate, he had yet done it in such a manner as demonstrated that his compliance would last no longer than necessity required ; nor was it difficult to see that he intended to make another trial of the fortune of war, all his actions and words at the present having a tendency that way. In the first place he removed almost the whole body of horsemen, with their families, from the maritime cities into Emathia, as it is now called, formerly Pæonia, giving up those cities to be inhabited by Thracians and other barbarians, thinking that such kind of people would prove more faithful to him in case of a war with Rome. This proceeding caused great discontent all over Macedonia ; and of those who, with their wives and children, were obliged to leave their dwellings, few concealed their grief in silence ; most of them, as they marched in bodies along the roads, letting their hatred get the better of their fear, uttered curses against the king. This disturbed his mind to such a degree, that he conceived suspicions of danger from every man, and from every place and season ; and at last went so far as to declare openly that he could not think himself safe in any respect, without seizing and confining the sons of those whom he had destroyed, and sending them out of the world at different times.

4. The cruelty of these proceedings, horrible in itself, was rendered still more so by the calamities of one particular family. Philip had many years before put to death Herodicus, a Thessalian of distinction, and afterward his son-in-law. His daughters, who were thus left widows, had each one son. The names of the women were Theoxena and Archo. Theoxena, though courted by many, rejected every offer of marriage. Archo married a person called Poris, the first in dignity of the Ænean nation ; and, after bearing him many children, died, leaving them all young. Theoxena then, in order that her sister's children might be educated under her own inspection, married Poris, and, as if

she herself had borne them all, treated her sister's sons and her own with the same affectionate care. When she heard of the king's order for seizing the children of the persons who had fallen by his tyranny, supposing that they would be subjected not only to the king's cruelty, but to that of his guards, she formed a horrid project, and had the hardiness to declare that she would kill them all with her own hand rather than they should come into the power of Philip. Poris, shocked at the mention of such a dreadful deed, told her that he would carry them away to Athens to some faithful friends, and would himself accompany them in their flight. They all went from Thessalonica to Æneas to a stated sacrifice, which is performed there yearly with great solemnity in honour of Æneas, the founder of the nation. After passing the day there in the anniversary feast, about the third watch, when all were asleep, they embarked in a vessel ready prepared by Poris, as if intending to return to Thessalonica; but their design was to cross over to Eubœa. However, daylight overtook them at a small distance from the land, where they were struggling in vain against a contrary wind, when the king's officers, who commanded the garrison of the port, despatched an armed bark to bring back their ship, with a strict injunction not to return without it. When this vessel came near the other, Poris exerted every effort to animate the rowers and sailors, and, raising his hands towards heaven, supplicated the gods for succour. Meanwhile the woman, with desperate fury recurring to the shocking design which she had long premeditated, dissolved some poison and produced swords; then, placing the cup before their eyes and unsheathing the swords, said, "These are the ways to death,—our only refuge. Of these, let each take whichever he prefers; so shall you escape the tyranny of the king. Come, then, dear youths, let those of you who are the elder first take the sword; or, if a slower death is your choice, the cup." On one hand the enemy were approaching fast; on the other, she, who urged them to despatch themselves, was instant; whereon the young men, putting an end to their lives, some by the sword and some by the poison, were thrown, expiring, into the sea. Then embracing her husband and companion in death, she plunged into the deep. The king's people then took possession of the ship, in which they found not one of its owners.

5. The shocking circumstances of this transaction added fresh fuel to the flame of public resentment against the king ; insomuch that most people imprecated curses on him and his children ; which curses were heard by the gods, who soon after caused him to vent his cruelty on those of his own blood. For Perseus, perceiving that the popularity and high reputation of his brother Demetrius increased daily among the Macedonians, and also his interest with the Romans, saw no hope left to himself of obtaining the crown except by some wicked device : he therefore bent all his thoughts to that one point. But not thinking himself alone strong enough even for the dastardly project which he meditated in his effeminate mind, he began to tamper with each of his father's friends by dark hints and suggestions. At first several of these showed an appearance of rejecting with aversion any such overtures, because they entertained higher expectations from Demetrius. Philip's animosity to the Romans, however, increased every day—an animosity which Perseus fomented, but which Demetrius laboured with all his might to assuage. They foresaw, therefore, the fatal end of the youth, who used no precaution against the base designs of his brother ; and thinking it prudent not to oppose what they judged must happen, and to support the pretensions of the more powerful, they united themselves to Perseus. Other measures they deferred to be executed each in its season ; for the present they determined to use every means to inflame the king's anger towards the Romans, and to urge him to resolve on war, to which he was of himself very much inclined. At the same time, in order to aggravate his suspicions of Demetrius, they made it a practice in conversation to speak contemptuously of the Romans ; some depreciating their manners and institutions, some their military achievements, some the appearance of the city itself, unadorned, without either public or private structures ; and others, some particular individuals among their principal men. On these occasions the unwary young prince, out of affection to the Roman nation, and warmth of opposition to his brother, strongly maintained their cause, and by this means rendered himself more suspected by his father, and more obnoxious to injurious insinuations. Philip therefore kept him a stranger to all his designs respecting the Romans ; and bestowing his entire confidence on Perseus, held with him daily and nightly

deliberations on that subject. It happened that some persons whom he had sent to the Bastarnians to solicit aid came home at this time, and brought with them several young men of distinction, and some of the royal family ; one of whom promised his sister in marriage to Philip's son, and the close connexion with that nation greatly raised the king's spirits. Hereon Perseus said, "What does that avail ? Foreign aids do not give us security proportioned to the danger that threatens us from domestic treachery. I am unwilling to call him traitor, but a spy we certainly have in our bosom ; and who, since he was a hostage at Rome, though the people returned us his person, has left his heart in their possession. Almost every Macedonian looks up to him, supposing that they are to have no other king than one given by the Romans." By such discourses the old man's mind, dis-tempered in itself, was stimulated to passion, and these imputations sunk deeper in his mind than appeared from his countenance.

6. The time of the purification of the army now arrived. The ceremony is thus performed :—A dog being cut asunder in the middle, the head, with the forepart and the entrails, is laid on the right side of the road, and the hind part on the left. Between the parts of the victim thus divided, the forces march under arms. In the front of the van are carried the remarkable suits of armour of all the kings of Macedonia, from the remotest origin ; next follows the king himself, with his children ; then the royal cohort and body-guards, and the rest of the national troops close the rear. On this occasion the king was accompanied by his two sons, one on each side of him ; Perseus being now in his thirtieth year, Demetrius five years younger ; the former in the full strength of manhood, the latter in its bloom :—a ripe progeny, capable of rendering their father happy, if sound wisdom had regulated their conduct. The custom was, that when the purification was finished, the troops performed their exercise ; and then, being divided into two equal parties, engaged in representation of a battle. The young princes were appointed commanders in this mock engagement ; not indeed mock engagement, as it should have been, for the encounter was as if they were fighting for the throne : many wounds were given with the foils ; nor was any thing but sharp weapons wanting to render it a regular battle. The party under De-

metrius had a great superiority ; and, while Perseus was vexed thereat, his judicious friends rejoiced, and said, that that very circumstance would afford grounds for the heavier charges against his brother.

7. Each of the princes gave an entertainment that day to the party who had exercised under his command. Perseus was invited to supper by Demetrius, but refused : however, cheerful hospitality, on such a festival day, and youthful mirth, led both to drink freely of wine. The conversation of either party turned on the incidents of the mock engagement, and jocular remarks were thrown on their antagonists, without sparing even the commanders themselves. To listen and catch such expressions, a spy was sent from among the guests of Perseus ; but, not conducting himself with sufficient caution, he was detected by some young men who happened to come out of the banqueting-room, and severely beaten. Demetrius, knowing nothing of this matter, said, " Why don't we go and join in merriment with my brother ; assuaging, by our openness and candour, any remains of his anger that may subsist since the fight ? " All cried out at once that they would attend him, except those who were afraid of immediate vengeance for having beaten the spy. These, however, being pressed by Demetrius to go with the rest, concealed swords under their clothes, with which they might defend themselves if any violence should be offered. In the case of domestic discord nothing can be kept secret. Both houses were full of spies and traitors. An informer ran on before to Perseus, and told him that four armed young men were coming with Demetrius. Though he well knew the reason of their fears (for he had heard of the beating given to his guest), yet, for the purpose of giving the matter a bad colour, he ordered his gates to be locked ; and from the windows facing the street he called aloud to the revellers, and as if they were come to murder him, not to approach the house. Demetrius, flushed with wine, exclaimed loudly on being shut out. He then went home to his own feast, entirely ignorant of the meaning of this proceeding.

8. Next day Perseus, as soon as he could be admitted to his father's presence, went into the palace ; and, with a countenance expressive of great perturbation, stood silent at a distance. Philip asked him " if all was well, and what was the cause of that sadness ? " He answered, " I must

tell you, that it is but by mere accident that I am now alive. My brother attacks us not with secret treachery : he came last night to my house with men in arms, to take away my life ; and it was by shutting the doors, and keeping the walls between me and him, that I saved myself from his fury." As these words filled his father with horror, mixed with wonder, he added, " If you can prevail on yourself to listen to me, I will give you the clearest proof of the matter." Philip replied that he would certainly listen to him, and ordered Demetrius to be instantly summoned. He then sent for two friends of advanced age, Lysimachus and Onomastus (who never interfered in the disputes of the brothers, and who, of late, had but seldom appeared in the palace), that he might have the assistance of their advice. In the interim he walked about by himself, revolving many things in his mind. On being told that his friends were arrived, he retired with them into an inner apartment, attended by two of his life-guards, at the same time permitting each of his sons to bring in three persons unarmed. Here, having taken his seat, he said, " Surely I am the most unhappy of fathers, sitting here as judge between my two sons, on a charge of fratricide, made by one of them against the other ; so that I must find in my nearest relations the foul stain either of falsehood or of wicked violence. This long time, indeed, I have apprehended an impending storm, not only from your countenances, which showed no sign of brotherly affection, but from some expressions which I have overheard. But I sometimes cherished the hope that the heat of your resentments would cool, and that your mutual suspicions might be cleared up ; for I considered that even enemies lay down their arms and become friends : and I trusted that you would some time or other recall the memory of your fraternal relation to each other ; of the open freedom and intimacy that subsisted between you in your boyish days ; and finally, of my instructions, which, I fear, I have fruitlessly poured into deaf ears. How often have I in your hearing mentioned with abhorrence examples of discord between brothers, and recounted the dreadful consequences of them, by which themselves, their offspring, their houses, and their kingdoms, have been utterly ruined. I have represented, on the other hand, more laudable examples ; the social intercourse between the two kings of the Lacedæmonians, beneficial to themselves and

to their country for many ages ; and where the custom of every one arbitrarily seizing on power was quite overturned. Then the brothers Eumenes and Attalus, having raised their dominions (once so low that they were almost ashamed of the title of king) to an equality with mine, or with those of Antiochus, or indeed of any monarch of this age, and principally by brotherly concord. Nor did I decline showing you examples even from among the Romans ; some that had fallen under my own observation, others that I had heard : as Titus and Lucius Quintius, who carried on the war with me ; the two Scipios, Publius and Lucius, who vanquished Antiochus ; and their father and uncle, whose sociality, maintained through life, was not broken even by death. But neither could the wickedness of the former, attended by a suitable issue, deter you from your foolish quarrels, nor could the sound judgment and good fortune of the latter bend you to wisdom. While I am alive and in health, you have both of you, in your hopes and wishes, laid hold on the succession. You wish me to live just so long as that, surviving one, I should by my death make the other king without a competitor. You cannot endure to have either brother or father. You have no sense of affection or duty ; your insatiable passion for rule alone has taken up the place of all other feelings. Come, then, contaminate your father's ears, contend with mutual accusations, as you soon will with the sword ; speak out whatever you can with truth, or whatever you may choose to invent. My ears are now open, but henceforward will be shut against all secret charges of one against the other." On his uttering these words with furious passion, every one present burst into tears, and for a long time kept a sorrowful silence.

9. At length Perseus spoke to this effect : "I ought then, it seems, to have opened my gate in the night to have admitted those armed revellers, and held out my throat to their swords ; since nothing less than the perpetration of the deed can gain belief, and since I, against whom a murderous plot was levelled, am accosted in the same language as if I were a robber and an assassin. It is not without reason that people say that you have but one son, Demetrius, and that I am supposititious, and born of a concubine ; for if I held in your breast the rank of a son, or the affection due to one, you would wreak your anger not on me, who, on detecting a plot

against my life, make my complaint but on him who was the author of it: nor would myself be so cheap in your eyes, as that you should neither be moved by the danger which I have already undergone, nor by that to which I must be exposed in future, if the assassins are permitted to go unpunished. If, therefore, it be our doom to die in silence, let us only pray the gods that the wicked design aimed at me may end with me, and that you be not wounded through my sides. But if, as nature itself dictates to people, encompassed with perils in a desert place, to implore aid from men whom they had never seen, so I, on finding a sword drawn against me, may be allowed to raise my voice. I beseech you, then, by your own person, by the name of father (and you long know which of us reveres that title most), that you may hear me in the same manner as you would if, roused by calls and outcries, you had come up when I was crying for help, and in the dead of night had found Demetrius with armed men in the porch of my house. What I should at that time and in that case have exclaimed against with terror, I now, next day, lay before you in form of a complaint. Brother, it is long since you and I lived together on the terms of mutual hospitality: your chief wish is to be king; your hopes on that head meet obstacles in my age, in the law of nations, in the ancient practice of Macedonia, as well as in my father's judgment. These you can surmount by no other means than by shedding my blood. To this end you leave no scheme or effort untried. Hitherto either my care or fortune has kept me from destruction. Yesterday, on occasion of the purification, the military exercise and mock representation of a fight, you brought on almost a bloody battle; nor was I saved from death by any other means than by suffering myself and my party to be overcome. After this, pretending brotherly sport, you wanted to drag me to your house to supper. Father, can you suppose I should have met there unarmed guests, when they came in arms to my house to drink with me? Do you think there would have been no danger in the night from their swords, when before they were near killing me with foils? Why, Demetrius, did you come at that time of night; why an enemy come to a person provoked; why with young men in arms? I did not dare to trust myself with you as a guest, and shall I admit you to drink with me when you come surrounded with armed men? Father, if the

gate had been open, you would at this moment be preparing my funeral, instead of hearing my complaint. I do not, as an accuser, urge any thing for the purpose of aggravation ; neither do I put together doubtful circumstances in a train of artful arguments. For what can he say ? Does he deny that he came to my gate with a large party, or that there were armed men with him ? Send for the persons ; I will name them. I know that they who dared to make this attempt dare to do any thing ; nevertheless, they will not dare to contradict what I say. If I brought before you any who had been caught within my doors in arms, you would consider this as full proof ; and you ought to consider those who make confession of what I have charged them with in the same light as if actually caught in the fact.

10. "Father ! your curses should fall on the ambition for rule. Call up the furies, the avengers of the wrongs of brothers ; but let not your curses be indiscriminating. Examine and distinguish between the plotter and the person plotted against, and pour them on the guilty head. Let him who intended to kill a brother feel the wrath of the gods, and of his father also ; and let him who was to have perished by a brother's wickedness, find refuge in his father's compassion and justice : for where else shall I seek refuge, who cannot find safety in the solemn purification of your army, in the exercise of the troops in my own house, in a feast, nor in the night, which nature's bounty granted to mankind for a season of repose. If I go to my brother according to his invitation, I must die. If I admit my brother to a party of pleasure within my own gates, I must die. Neither by going nor by staying can I escape treacherous plots. Whither then shall I betake me ? Father, your favour only have I ever courted, and that of the gods. I have not the Romans to fly to. They wish my destruction, because I grieve at the injuries which they have done to you ; because I resent your being deprived of so many cities, so many nations, and, but the other day, of the coast of Thrace. They have no hope that Macedonia will ever be their property while either you or I are safe. But, if I should be taken off by the wickedness of my brother, and you by old age, or if even this should not be waited for, they know that both the king and kingdom of Macedonia will become theirs. If the Romans had left you any thing beyond the limits of Mace-

donia, I would suppose that I might there find shelter. But I have protection enough in the Macedonians. You were an eyewitness yesterday of the attack made on me by the soldiers. What did they want but pointed weapons to complete the business? And what they wanted in the day, my brother's guests took to themselves in the night. Why need I mention the greater part of the nobles, who have placed all their hopes of wealth and preferment in the Romans, and in him who can do every thing with the Romans? Nor, in truth, do they prefer him merely to me, his elder brother, but in some measure to yourself, his king and father: for he is the person out of regard to whom the senate remitted to you the intended punishment, who now screens you from the Roman arms; who thinks it fit that your advanced age should be under obligation to and under control of his youth. He is supported by the Romans, by all the cities liberated from your jurisdiction; by the Macedonians who are pleased at the peace with Rome. For me, where is there either hope or support of any kind, except in you, my father?

11. "What do you suppose to be the intention of the letter sent to you lately by Titus Quintius, in which he not only says that you acted wisely for your own interest in sending Demetrius to Rome, but also advises you to send him back again, with a greater number of ambassadors, and even the first men of Macedonia? Titus Quintius is now his counsellor and master in every thing. You, his father, he has renounced, and has substituted Quintius in your place. Rome is the principal place where their secret plans are digested. When he desires you to send greater numbers, and the chief men of Macedonia, he is seeking assistants in their schemes. For those who go thither pure and uncorrupt, and satisfied that you are really their king, return tainted and infected by Roman poisons. Demetrius alone is every thing with them. They give him the title of king, even in his father's lifetime. If I express my indignation at these things, I am charged with being ambitious for rule; not only by others, but, father, even by you. But this charge, if made against both, I do not admit; for whom do I disturb from his place, that I may succeed in his room? My father alone is before me; and that he may long be so, I beseech the gods. If I survive him (and so may I survive him as I shall deserve that himself may wish it), I shall

receive the crown if my father devises it to me. He covets rule, and covets it with criminal passion, who hastily overleaps the order of age, of nature, of the Macedonian customs, and of the laws of nations. An elder brother stands in his way; to whom by right, and by the choice of his father, the succession belongs. 'Let us,' he cries, 'put him out of the way. I shall not be the first that acquired a kingdom by killing a brother. My father being old, and left alone by his son's death, will rather fear for himself than revenge the death of his son. The Romans will rejoice, they will approve, they will support the act.' Father, these prospects are uncertain, but they are not without grounds: for the matter stands thus: it is in your power to ward off danger by punishing those who took arms to kill me; but, should their villany succeed, it will not then be in your power to take vengeance for my death."

12. When Perseus ceased speaking, the eyes of all present were turned on Demetrius, as they expected from him an immediate reply: but he kept silence for a long time. It was evident that, drowned as he was in tears, he had not power to utter a word; but at last the necessity that called on him to speak overcame his grief, and he expressed himself thus: "Father, all the aids of which persons accused could heretofore have availed themselves, my brother has taken from me, and converted to his own purpose. By his tears, counterfeited for the purpose of working another's ruin, he has caused my real tears to be suspected by you. Although, ever since my return from Rome, he has employed himself night and day in plotting my destruction, and holding, for that end, secret consultations with his confederates, yet he now represents me in the character not only of a conspirator, but of an open assassin and murderer. He terrifies you with his danger, in order to hasten through your means the ruin of an innocent brother. He asserts that he has no place of refuge in the world, in order to cut off any remains of hope which I might have, even in you. Circumvented, unsupported, and helpless as I am, he loads me with injurious imputations, respecting interest with foreigners, which, instead of proving useful, is detrimental to me. Then, with what unfair artifice does he act, in blending the charge of last night with invectives against the rest of my conduct; with design, on the one hand, by his representation

of the tenour of my behaviour, in other particulars, to throw a colour of guilt on the former, the true nature of which you shall soon understand; and, on the other hand, to support the other groundless insinuations respecting my views, wishes, and designs, by this latter, fictitious, fabricated story. He had at the same time a farther design; that his accusation might appear to be sudden and unpremeditated; as if occasioned by sudden fright and disturbance in the night. But, Perseus, if I were a traitor against my father and his government; if I had formed connexions with the Romans, or with others, enemies of my father, the tale of last night ought not to have been waited for; I ought to have been long ago brought to answer for my treason. And if the other charge were unfounded, and tended to discover your ill-will towards me rather than my guilt, it ought on the present day also to be either omitted or postponed; in order that it might clearly appear whether I plotted against you, or you, with indeed a strange and singular kind of hatred, against me. However, I will, as well as I am able, in my present unforeseen perturbation of mind, distinguish those matters which you have confounded; and I will unveil the plot of the preceding evening, whether mine or yours. Perseus wishes it to be believed that I had formed a design to take his life, with the view, it seems, that having removed the elder brother, to whom, by the law of nations, by the custom of Macedonia, and likewise by your judgment, as he says, the kingdom was to devolve, I, the younger, should succeed in the room of him whom I had slain. What then can be the meaning of that other part of his speech, where he says that I courted the favour of the Romans, and, from my reliance on them, conceived hopes of the crown? For, if I believed that the Romans possessed such influence that they could impose on Macedonia whatever king they pleased, and if I had such confidence in my interest with them, what need was there of fratricide? Could it be my wish to wear a diadem stained with a brother's blood, or to become odious and execrable in the eyes of those very people with whom, whatever share of interest I might happen to have, was procured by either real, or at least affected, integrity of conduct? Can this be possible, I say, unless you believe that Titus Quintius, by whose counsels and advice you allege I am at present governed, though he lives

on a footing of such cordial affection with his own brother, would recommend to me to murder mine? He has assembled together for me, not only the favour of the Romans, but the opinions of the Macedonians, and the concurring sentiments almost of all the gods, and of all mankind, by reason of all which he cannot believe that he would prove equal to me in the competition. Yet the same man accuses me of having (while sensible of my inferiority to him in every mode of proceeding) had recourse to an act of wickedness as my only resource. Are you satisfied that the decision between us shall be made on this principle, that whichever feared lest the other should seem more worthy of the throne shall be deemed guilty of designing his brother's destruction?

13. "But let us examine the process of this accusation, in whatever manner it has been fabricated. He has arraigned me of attempting his life in several different methods; and all these modes of attack he has brought within the compass of one day. I intended to kill him in the middle of the day, in the course of the exercises; and, in preference of all other days, on that of the purification. I intended, when I invited him to supper, to take him off by poison: I intended, when some armed persons followed me to join his party in their conviviality, to kill him with the sword. You see what sort of opportunities were chosen for this murder;—those of sport, feasting, and revelling;—and on what days, and on what sort of a day! On the day in which the army was purified; in which, after the royal armour of all the former kings of Macedonia was carried in procession between the divided parts of the victim, when he and I only rode along with you, father, at your side, and the body of the Macedonian troops followed. Now, even supposing that I had formerly been guilty of some crime, could I, after being purified and expiated in this sacred solemnity, at the very time when I was looking at the victim laid on each side of our road, revolve in my mind fratricide; could I have poisons and swords prepared against the feast? With what other sacred rites could I afterward atone for the guilt of a mind thus contaminated with every kind of villany? But his understanding is so blinded by eagerness to turn every thing into a crime, that he confounds one thing with another. For if, Perseus, I intended to take you off by poison, what could be more incongruous with my design than to provoke you to rage

by an obstinate contest and fight? Ought I to have given you reason to refuse, as you did, my invitation to supper? But when in your anger you had refused, whether ought I to have taken pains to pacify you that I might find another opportunity, since I had got the poison ready, or to fly off at once to another plan of killing you with the sword, and on that same day under pretence of feasting with you? If I thought that you declined supping with me through fear for your life, how could I suppose that you would not, through the same fear, have declined admitting me to drink with you?

14. "Father, I have no cause to blush that, on a festival day among companions of my own age, I should have indulged too freely in wine; and I wish you would inquire what cheerfulness and mirth prevailed in yesterday's entertainment at my house, heightened too by our joy, perhaps a blameable one, for our party not having been worsted in the fight. My present misfortune and my fears have effectually dissipated the fumes of the liquor; but if these had not intervened, we, the conspirators, would have been now lying fast asleep. If, Perseus, I designed to storm your house, and after taking it to kill the owner, ought I not to have refrained from wine for that one day, and to have kept my soldiers sober? That I should not be the only one to defend my cause with excessive candour, my brother himself, not in the least inclined to malice or suspicion, says, I know nothing more,—I charge them with nothing more,—than that they came in arms to drink with me. If I should ask, how came you acquainted with that circumstance? you must necessarily acknowledge either that my house was full of your spies, or that my companions took arms so openly as that every one could know their purpose. Lest he should seem to argue with an intention to aggravate guilt, he desires you to inquire from the persons whom he would name whether they had carried swords, in order that, in such a case, and respecting a fact which themselves confess, I might be deemed convicted. Why, Perseus, do you not rather desire inquiry to be made whether they carried swords for the purpose of killing you; whether by my directions and knowledge? for this is what you wish to be believed, and not what they will confess; and what is indeed notorious, that they carried them for the purpose of defending themselves. Whether they acted right or wrong, let them account for their own con-

duct. My cause, which is in no way affected by this act, you ought not to have blended with it; or you ought to have explained whether we intended to attack you openly or secretly. If openly, why did we not all carry swords, and not those only who had beaten your spy? If privately, what was our plan? Were four to remain when the banquet broke up, and I, your guest, had departed, in order to fall on you in your sleep? How would they have escaped detection as being strangers and belonging to me; and above all, being liable to suspicion, on account of their having been in a quarrel a little before? And how were they to have escaped after having killed you? Was your house so weakly defended as that it could be stormed by the aid of four swords?

15. "Drop, then, that fable of last night, and recur to what really grieves you,—what kindles your envy. Say—why, Demetrius, is mention made anywhere of your mounting the throne? Why do you appear to some more worthy to succeed to your father's dignity than I? Why do you disturb with doubt and anxiety my hopes, which would be certain if you were not in being? These are the thoughts of Perseus, though he does not express them; these make him my enemy, these my accuser; these, my father, fill your house, these fill your kingdom with accusations and suspicions. But as I ought not now to hope for the crown, or perhaps ever to think of a competition for it, being, as I am, the younger brother, and it being your will that I should yield to the elder,—so neither ought I at any former time, or at the present, to act in such a manner as to appear undeserving of having you for my father, and of all the other blessings of my life. That would be the consequence of vicious conduct in me, not of moderation, and of yielding to him to whom the laws, divine and human, order me to give place. I am upbraided in regard to the Romans; and what ought to be deemed an honour is turned into a crime. It was not at my request that I was either delivered a hostage to the Romans, or sent ambassador to Rome. Being commissioned by you, I did not refuse to go. On both occasions I conducted myself in such a manner as to be no disgrace to you, to your kingdom, or to the Macedonian nation. You, therefore, father, have been the cause of my friendship with the Romans. As long as peace shall subsist between you and them, so long will I also continue in friendship with

them ; but, if war should arise, I, who have been their hostage, and no unprofitable ambassador in my father's behalf, will be their most determined enemy. Nor do I this day require that the favour of the Romans should be any advantage to me ; I only deprecate its being made detrimental. It neither commenced in war, nor is it meant to subsist in war. I was a pledge of peace, and to procure a continuance of peace I was sent ambassador. Let neither be esteemed an honour or a crime. Father, if I have been guilty of any undutiful behaviour towards you, or any criminal behaviour towards my brother, there is no punishment to which I will not submit without murmuring. If I am innocent, let me not, I beseech you, be destroyed by envy. My brother's accusation this day is not the first that he has brought against me ; but it is the first made openly, and is entirely undeserved by me. If my father were angry with me, it would become the elder brother to intercede for the younger, to obtain pardon for his youth and for his error ; but, in the very person from whom I ought to receive protection, in him I meet my ruin. From a feast and intemperate drinking I have been hurried, almost half asleep, to defend myself against a charge of fratricide. Without advocates, without patrons, I am compelled to plead my own cause. If I were to speak for another, I would have taken time to study and compose my discourse, though in that case I should run no other hazard than that of my reputation for abilities : but, before I knew the reason of being summoned hither, I heard you in a paroxysm of passion ordering me to account for my conduct, and my brother accusing me. He employed against me a speech long before prepared and studied ; while I had no longer time for learning the nature of the case than while the charges against me were recited. During that short space, whether should I listen to my accuser or study a defence ? Thunderstruck by the sudden and unthought-of calamity, I was scarcely capable of understanding what was alleged against me, much less of settling properly in my mind what defence I should make. What hope, indeed, could I have, if my judge were not my father ! with whom, though my elder brother has the advantage of a larger share in his affection, yet surely, standing thus accused, I ought not to meet a less share of compassion. For my prayer is that you would save me, for my sake and for your own ; he demands that, for his security, you should put me

to death. In what manner, do you think, will he act when you shall deliver the kingdom into his hands, who, even now, thinks it reasonable that he should be gratified with my blood?" While he was proceeding in this manner his voice was stopped by a flood of tears. Philip ordered Perseus and Demetrius to withdraw; and, after conferring a short time with his friends, declared that "he could not, from a single hour's discussion, form a definite judgment on the cause between them. This could only be done by a scrutiny into the conduct and manners of both, and a close observation of their words and actions, on all occasions, great and small." From which it appeared clearly to every one that the charge relating to the preceding night was effectually refuted; but that Demetrius was viewed with jealousy, as too closely connected with the Romans. Such were the seeds of a Macedonian war, which were sowed during the lifetime of Philip, though they did not ripen into effect until the government fell into the hands of Perseus, with whom it was waged.

16. Both the consuls went into Liguria, at that time the only consular province. Their successes there occasioned a supplication of one day to be decreed. About two thousand Ligurians came to the extreme borders of the Gallic province, where Marcellus lay encamped, and requested him to receive their submission. Marcellus ordered them to wait where they were, and sent a letter to the senate, desiring to know their pleasure. The senate ordered Marcus Ogulnius, pretor, to write back to Marcellus, that "it would have been more proper for the consuls, whose province it was, than for them, to have determined what, in this case, was for the public advantage: that, however, as the matter stood, it was their opinion that the submission of the Ligurians should be received; that their arms should be taken from them, and sent to the consuls." The pretors arrived at the same time in Spain, Publius Manlius in the Farther province, which he had governed in his former pretorship, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus in the Hither one, where he received the command of the army from Terentius; the Farther province, by the death of the propritor, Publius Sempronius, having been left without a governor. While Fulvius Flaccus was besieging a town of the Spaniards called Urbicua, he was attacked by the Celtiberians. Many severe actions were fought on the occasion, and many of the Romans killed and wounded.

Nothing, however, could prevail on Fulvius to raise the siege, and by perseverance he carried his point. The Celtiberians, wearied out with so many battles, retired; and the city, having lost their assistance, was, within a few days after, taken and sacked, when the prætor bestowed the booty on the soldiers. Fulvius, after reducing this town, sent his forces into winter quarters; and Publius Manlius did the same, without having performed any thing worth mention; for all that he did was to collect into one body the troops which had been scattered in various places. Such were the transactions of that summer in Spain. Terentius, who had come home from that province, entered the city in ovation. He carried in the procession nine thousand three hundred and twenty pounds' weight of silver, eighty pounds' weight of gold, and two golden crowns of the weight of sixty-seven pounds.

17. This year the Romans were arbitrators in a dispute subsisting between the people of Carthage and King Masinissa, about a tract of ground. This ground Gala, father of Masinissa, had taken from the Carthaginians. Syphax had expelled Gala, and afterward, from respect to his father-in-law, Hasdrubal, had made a present of it to the Carthaginians. In the present year Masinissa had expelled the Carthaginians. This matter was debated before the Roman deputies with no less heat than had animated the parties when engaged in the field. The Carthaginians reclaimed the ground, first, as having been the property of their ancestors; and next, on the title which they had derived from Syphax. Masinissa urged that "he had retaken possession of it as part of his father's kingdom, and held it under the law of nations; and that he had the advantage both in the merits of his cause and in the present possession. That, in this discussion, he had no other fear than lest the moderation of the Romans might operate to his loss, making them dread the appearance of any partiality to a king who was their friend and ally, in prejudice to the common enemy of him and them." The deputies did not alter the right of possession, but remitted the cause entire to the senate at Rome. There was nothing done afterward in Liguria. The inhabitants at first retired into remote forests; and afterward, disbanding their army, separated, and went off to their several forts and villages. The consuls, too, wished to disband

their forces, and wrote to the senate for orders; but the senate directed that one of them should discharge his troops, and come to Rome to elect magistrates for the year; and that the other, with his legions, should pass the winter at Pisa. A report prevailed that the transalpine Gauls were arming their young men; and it was not known on what quarter of Italy that multitude would pour itself. The consuls settled the matter between them—that Cneius Bæbius should go home to the elections, his brother Marcus Bæbius being a candidate for the consulship.

18. The assembly for the election of consuls was then held, and Publius Cornelius Cethegus and Marcus Bæbius Tamphilus were chosen. [A. U. C. 571. B. C. 181.] The pretors afterward elected were Quintus Fabius Maximus, Quintus Fabius Buteo, Caius Claudius Nero, Quintus Petillius Spurius, Marcus Pinarius Posca, and Lucius Duronius. When the magistrates entered into office, the lots disposed of the provinces thus:—to the consuls, Liguria; to Quintus Petillius, the city jurisdiction; to Quintus Fabius Maximus, the foreign; to Quintus Fabius Buteo, Gaul; to Caius Claudius Nero, Sicily; to Marcus Pinarius, Sardinia; and to Lucius Duronius, Apulia; to which was annexed Istria, information being received from Tarentum and Brundisium that the country on the seacoast was infested by foreign pirates. The Massilians made the same complaint with regard to the ships of the Ligurians. The armies were then voted to the consuls: four Roman legions, each consisting of five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse; and of the allies and Latines, fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. In the two Spains the pretors were continued in command, with the armies which they then had; and an augmentation was voted for them, amounting to three thousand Roman foot with two hundred horse, and six thousand foot and three hundred horse of the Latine confederates. Nor was the business of the fleet neglected. The consuls were ordered to constitute duumvirs for conducting it; and these were to man twenty ships, which they launched with Roman citizens who had been in servitude, only taking care that the officers should be men of free birth. The duumvirs, each at the head of ten ships, took separate parts of the seacoast under their protection, so that the promontory of Minerva formed the point of division between them: one was

to defend the part on the right as far as Marseilles ; the other that on the left to the town of Barium.

19. Many alarming prodigies were seen at Rome this year, and others reported from abroad. A shower of blood fell in the courts of the temples of Vulcan and Concord, and the priests reported that spears moved in the hands of the statues, and that the image of Juno Sospita at Lanuvium shed tears. There was a pestilence in the country, in the market-towns and villages : and so violent was it in the city, that people could scarcely be found to bury the dead. These prodigies and the mortality alarmed the senate so much ; that they ordered the consuls to sacrifice to such gods as their judgment should direct victims of the larger kinds, and the decemvirs should consult the books. Pursuant to their direction, a supplication for one day was proclaimed to be performed at every shrine in Rome ; and they advised, besides, and the senate voted, and the consuls proclaimed, that there should be a supplication and public worship for three days throughout all Italy. The pestilence raged with so great fury, that when, in consequence of the revolt of the Corsicans, and a war raised in Sardinia by the Ibians, an order was passed for raising from among the Latines eight thousand foot and three hundred horse, to be carried into Sardinia, with Pinareus the pretor,—the consuls returned a representation that so great a number of men had died, and so many were sick in every place, that such a body of soldiers could not be collected. On this the pretor was ordered to take from Cneius Bæbius, proconsul, who was in winter quarters at Pisæ, as many soldiers as would make up the deficiency, and then to sail to Sardinia. Lucius Duronius, the pretor, to whose lot Apulia had fallen, received also a charge to make inquiry concerning the bacchanalians ; for some remaining seeds of the evils formerly excited by those people had shown themselves there the year before. The inquiries, though commenced under the Pretor Lucius Pupius, had yet been brought to no issue ; the senate therefore ordered the new pretor to cut up that evil by the roots, so that it should never spread again. The consuls, also, by direction of the senate, proposed to the people certain laws concerning canvassing for elections.

20. They next introduced the embassies to audience : and first, those of the kings Eumenes and Ariarathes the Cappa-

decian, and Pharnaces of Pontus. No farther answer was given to these than that the senate would send persons to examine and decide their disputes. Ambassadors from the Lacedæmonian exiles, and from the Achæans, were next brought in. Hopes were given to the exiles that the senate would write to the Achæans to procure their restoration. The Achæans gave an account to the satisfaction of the senate of the recovery of Messene, and the settlement of affairs there. From Philip, king of Macedonia, came two ambassadors also,—Philocles and Apelles; not on any business with the senate, but rather to pry into and inquire concerning the correspondence with the Romans, of which Perseus had accused Demetrius; and particularly into that with Titus Quintius concerning the kingdom, to the supposed prejudice of his brother. The king had employed these men, believing them unbiased in respect of either party; but they were accomplices and agents of Perseus in his treacherous designs. Demetrius, ignorant of all except the villanous scheme of his brother which had lately broken out, at first neither utterly despaired, nor yet entertained much hope of effecting a reconciliation with his father; but afterward he trusted less and less every day to Philip's affection, having observed that he was closely beset by Perseus. Wherefore, not to increase the suspicions he laboured under, he used extreme circumspection in all his words and actions, and carefully avoided all mention of and communication with the Romans; refraining even from receiving letters from them, as he knew that charges of this nature exasperated his father more than any thing else.

21. Philip, in order to prevent his troops from being enervated by inactivity, and at the same time to avert all suspicion of his harbouring any design of a war with Rome, ordered his army to assemble at Stobi in Pæonia, and thence he led it on into Mædica. He had been seized with an earnest desire of ascending to the summit of Mount Hemus; for he gave credit to a vulgar opinion, that from thence could be seen at once the Pontic and Adriatic seas, the river Danube, and the Alps; and he thought that the having a view of all those places would be of no small consequence towards forming his plans of a war with Rome. On inquiry, from people acquainted with the country, respecting this mount, he was told that there was no way by which an army

could go up it; but that a small party, lightly accoutred, might, though with great difficulty, climb to the top. Then, wishing to sooth with familiar discourse his younger son, whom he had determined not to take with him, he first asked his opinion "whether, as the difficulty of the journey was represented to be so great, he ought to persist in his design or not?" He added, that "if he should resolve to proceed, he could not forget the caution of Antigonus respecting undertakings of that kind; who, having all his family on board the same ship with him, and being tossed about by a violent storm, was said to have advised his sons to remember and hand down to their children this maxim,—never, in cases of danger, to hazard themselves and their whole family together. He would therefore attend to this warning, and not expose his two sons at once to those perils which were represented to lie in his way; and, as he meant to take his elder son with him, he would send back the younger into Macedonia, as a reserve to his hopes, and as a guardian of the kingdom." Demetrius perceived clearly that he was sent out of the way that he might not be present at their deliberations when, with the above-mentioned places in their view, they should consult which were the shortest roads to the Adriatic Sea and to Italy, and what was the general plan to be pursued in the war. He was obliged, however, not only to obey his father on the occasion, but to express his approbation of the measure, lest a reluctant obedience might beget suspicion. To secure his safety on the road to Macedonia, Didas, one of the king's general officers, and governor of Pæonia, was ordered to escort him with a small party of men. This man had united with Perseus in the conspiracy to ruin his brother, as had likewise most of his father's friends, as soon as they discovered plainly, from the bent of the king's inclination, which of the two was to inherit the throne; and Perseus charged him on this occasion to insinuate himself, by every kind of obsequiousness, into the most familiar communication with Demetrius, so as to draw from him all his secrets, and to pry into his hidden thoughts. The prince, therefore, set out with a guard, which exposed him to greater dangers than he would have had to encounter if he had gone alone.

22. Philip marched first into Mædica; then across the deserts that lie between Mædica and Hemus; and at length, on the evening of the seventh day, he reached the foot of the moun-

tain. There he halted one day to make choice of those who were to accompany him, and on the next proceeded on his journey. At first, while they ascended the lower parts of the hills, the fatigue was moderate; but, as they advanced upwards, they found the ground more thickly covered with woods, and in many places impassable. They then came to a part where the way was shaded by the thickness of the trees, and the branches so interwoven with each other that they could hardly see the sky; but when they had nearly reached the top, what is rarely seen in other places, the whole tract was covered with a thick fog, so as to render their advancing no less difficult than if it had been night. At last, on the third day, they arrived at the summit. On coming down they said nothing to discountenance the vulgar opinion, being unwilling, I suppose, to expose the journey to ridicule, and not because it was there possible to see those seas, and mountains, and rivers, so widely distant from each other. They were all greatly fatigued by the difficulty of the way; and chiefly the king himself, whose great age rendered him less qualified for active exertions. After sacrificing to Jupiter and the sun, on two altars which he consecrated on the spot, he descended in two days, though the ascent had cost him three; for he was particularly afraid of the night air, for, though the dog-star was now risen, the cold was as intense as in winter. After struggling with numerous hardships, he found his camp in a condition not more pleasing; for, as it lay in a country enclosed on all sides by deserts, it laboured under extreme want of every thing. He halted therefore but one day to refresh those who had attended him, and then hastened away into the country of the Dentheletians, with all the precipitation of flight. These were allies, but the Macedonians, to supply their own necessities, plundered their country as if it belonged to an enemy; for they first pillaged the country houses, and afterward several villages, overwhelming the king with shame when he heard the cries of his allies calling in vain on the gods, who witnessed their league, and on himself by name. Having carried off corn from hence, he marched back into Mædica, and laid siege to a town called Petra. He pitched his camp in a plain, and sent his son Perseus with a small party to attack the city from higher ground. The townsmen, pressed by danger on all sides, gave hostages, and for the present sur-

rendered themselves ; but as soon as the army retired, regardless of the hostages, they deserted the city, and fled into fastnesses and mountains. Philip returned to Macedonia, having exhausted his troops by every kind of fatigue without effecting any purpose, and with his suspicions of his son augmented through the treachery of the governor Didas.

23. This man being sent, as before mentioned, to escort Demetrius, had, by flattering discourses, and even expressing his own indignation at the treatment shown him, imposed on the open temper of the youth, who was too much off his guard, and justly incensed against his relations ; and by a voluntary offer of his assistance in all his measures, and giving a solemn assurance of fidelity, he prevailed on him to disclose his secrets. Demetrius was meditating flight to Rome ; and he thought himself indebted to the kindness of the gods for sending him such an assistant in that design as the governor of Pæonia, through whose province he supposed he might make his escape. This scheme was immediately betrayed to his brother, and, by his direction, discovered to his father. The information was conveyed by letter to the king while he was besieging Petra ; and, in consequence of it, Herodorus, who was the most intimate friend of Demetrius, was taken into custody ; and an order was given that Demetrius himself should be guarded, without his perceiving it. These occurrences, added to what had passed before, made the king return into Macedonia with his heart burdened with grief. He thought the present charges required attention, yet he resolved to wait the return of those whom he had sent to Rome to procure intelligence of every particular. After he had passed several months under this uneasiness and anxiety, the ambassadors, who had preconcerted before they left Macedonia what information they should bring home from Rome, at last arrived. Besides other grounds of accusation, they produced to the king a forged letter, sealed with a counterfeit seal of Titus Quintus. In this letter was a kind of interceding apology, that, if the young prince, misled by the ambition of reigning, had offered some propositions to him on the subject, yet he was sure that "Demetrius would never attempt any thing against his relations ; and that, for himself, he never could be supposed to recommend undutiful proceedings." This letter was deemed a full confirmation of the charges made by Per-

seus : Herodorus was therefore immediately put to the rack, which he endured a long time, and died under the torture, without making any kind of discovery.

24. Perseus now brought before his father a second formal accusation against Demetrius. His intention of flying through Pæonia was alleged against him, and his having bribed certain persons to accompany him on the journey; but what bore hardest on him was the forged letter of Titus Quintius. There was, however, no severe sentence pronounced openly, it being rather chosen to take away his life by secret means, in the fear lest the inflicting punishment on him might be the means of divulging their designs against the Romans. The king himself, having occasion to go from Thessalonica to Demetrias, sent Demetrius, with the same attendant Didas, to Asterium in Pæonia, and Perseus to Amphipolis, to receive hostages from the Thracians; and is said, on parting with Didas, to have given him directions to put his son to death. Didas either intended to perform a sacrifice, or made a pretence of doing so, and Demetrius, being invited to be present at the solemnity, came from Asterium to Heraclea. There, as we are told, poison was given him at supper. The moment he had swallowed the draught he was conscious of its deadly property; and being quickly after seized with violent pains, retired to a chamber, where he continued for some time in agony, complaining of the cruelty of his father, inveighing against the fratricide of Perseus, and the villany of Didas. Then one Thyrsis of Stubera, and one Alexander of Berœa, were sent in; who, covering his head and mouth with blankets, suffocated him. In this manner perished that innocent youth, his enemies not even contenting themselves with a common kind of murder.

25. While these matters passed in Macedonia, Lucius Æmilius Paulus being, on the expiration of his consulate, continued in command, led his army early in spring into the country of the Ingaunian Ligurians. He had no sooner pitched his camp in the enemy's territory than ambassadors came to him, under pretext of suing for peace, but in reality as spies. Paulus declared that he would enter into no treaty whatever, unless they first surrendered: to this they did not object, but said that it would require time to procure the consent of such a rude kind of people. For that pur-

pose a suspension of arms for ten days was granted; and then they farther requested that his men might not go beyond the mountains for wood or forage, for that was the part of, their lands which they had under tillage. This being complied with, they collected all their forces behind those mountains, which they had prevented the Romans from approaching; and, on a sudden, with a vast multitude, assaulted every gate of his camp at once. During that whole day they prosecuted the attack with such vigour that Paulus had not time to march out of the camp, nor room to draw out his troops; so that they were obliged to defend their camp by standing so thick together in the gates as to stop the passage, rather than by fighting. The enemy retiring a little before sunset, the general despatched two horsemen to Pisæ, to Cneius Bæbius, proconsul, with a letter, requesting him to come with all speed to his relief, as the Ligurians had besieged him in the midst of a truce. Bæbius had given up his army to Marcus Pinarius, the pretor, who was going into Sardinia; but he informed the senate by letter that Lucius Æmilius was besieged by the Ligurians; and also wrote to Marcus Claudius Marcellus, whose province lay the nearest, that, if he thought proper, he should march his army out of Gaul into Liguria, and to the relief of Æmilius. These succours would have come too late. The Ligurians returned next day to the attack of the camp. Æmilius, who was aware of this, and who could have drawn out his army to meet them, yet kept his men within the lines; for he wished to protract the business until such time as Bæbius should come with his army from Pisæ.

26. Bæbius's letter caused a great alarm; and it was increased by this circumstance, that, in a few days after, Marcellus coming to Rome, having given up the command of the army to Fabius, banished all hope of a possibility of the forces then in Gaul being removed into Liguria; for hostilities had commenced with the Istrians, who obstructed the settlement of the colony of Aquileia; and, as Fabius had led his army thither, he could not quit that country now that the war was begun. There was but one thing that could afford any hope of relief, and even that too slow for the exigency of the case,—this was, that the consuls might hasten their march into that province; and the senators earnestly pressed them to do so. But the consuls declared that they would not set out until the

levies were completed ; and that no indolence in them, but the violence of the epidemic sickness, was the cause of their delaying so long. However, they could not withstand the united wishes of the whole senate, in urging them to depart in the military habit, and to publish an order to the troops which they had enlisted to assemble at Pisæ on a certain day. Authority was given them to enlist soldiers for the occasion on the road, and to take them with them. Orders were likewise issued to the pretors, Quintus Petillius and Quintus Fabius, that Petillius should raise two tumultuary legions of Roman citizens, and compel every person under fifty years of age to enlist ; and that Fabius should demand from the Latine allies fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. Commanders were appointed to the fleet,—Cains Matienus and Caius Lucretius ; and ships were put in readiness for them. Matienus, whose station was at the Gallic bay, was ordered to lead his squadron with all expedition to the coast of Liguria, and to try if he could be of any service to Lucius Æmilius and his army.

27. Æmilius, seeing no appearance of succour from any quarter, supposed that his couriers had been intercepted. He resolved, therefore, to wait no longer, but to make a trial of fortune by himself ; and for this purpose, before the coming of the enemy, who now made their attacks with less briskness and vigour, he drew up his troops at the four gates, that, on a signal being given, they might sally out from all sides at once. To four independent cohorts of auxiliaries he added two others, and gave the command to Marcus Valerius, lieutenant-general, with orders to make his sally by the pretorian gate. At the right gate of the first cohort he formed the spearmen of the first legion, placing the first-rank men of the same legion in reserve ; these bodies were commanded by Marcus Servilius and Lucius Sulpicius, military tribunes. The third legion was drawn up opposite to the left gate of the first cohort, with this difference only, that here the first-rank men were posted in front, and the spearmen in reserve. Sextus Julius Cesar and Lucius Aurelius Cotta, military tribunes, had the command of this legion. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, lieutenant-general, with the right wing of the allies, was posted at the questorian gate ; and two cohorts, with the veterans of the two legions, were ordered to stay within to guard the camp. The general himself went round by all

the gates, haranguing the troops, and stimulating the soldiers by every possible circumstance that he could mention ; at one time declaiming against the treachery of the enemy, who, after suing for peace, and obtaining a truce, had come during the very time of that truce, in violation of the law of nations, to attack his camp ; at another, setting before them what a shame it was that a Roman army should be besieged by Ligurians, people more properly styled robbers than a regular enemy. " With what face," continued he, " if you make your way hence by the assistance of others, and not by your own valour, will any of you meet, I do not say those soldiers that conquered Hannibal, or Philip, or Antiochus, the greatest kings and generals of the present age, but those who often drove those very Ligurians before them through pathless forests, and put them to the sword ? What the Spaniards, the Gauls, the Macedonians, or Carthaginians, never dared to attempt, a Ligurian enemy dares : he marches up to the trenches of a Roman camp, besieges and assaults it ; although but a little while ago they were glad to hide themselves, and lurk in the wilds of the forests, so that we were obliged to make diligent search before we could find them." This was answered by a general clamour, that " the soldiers were not to be blamed, for they had not received any orders to march out. Let him but give the order, and he should soon be convinced that both the Romans and the Ligurians were the same that ever they were."

28. There were two camps of the Ligurians on the hither side of the mountains, from which, on the former days, they had marched forward at sunrise, all in order and regular array. On this day they did not take arms until they had made a full meal of food and wine ; and then they came out in loose order, and regardless of their ranks, as expecting with certainty that the enemy would not venture out beyond the rampart. As they were approaching in this disorderly manner, the shout was raised by every one in the camp at once, even by the sutlers and servants ; and the Romans rushed out by all the gates at the same time. This event was so entirely unexpected by the Ligurians, that it confounded them no less than if they had been caught in an ambush. For a short time some appearance of a fight was maintained, and then followed a hasty flight, and a general slaughter of the fugitives. The cavalry being ordered to

mount their horses, and not to suffer any to escape, the enemy were driven in the utmost confusion to their camps, and soon beaten out of them also. Above fifteen thousand of the Ligurians were killed, and two thousand five hundred taken. In three days after the whole state of the Inguanian Ligurians gave hostages and surrendered. The masters and crews of the ships which had been employed in piracies were carefully sought for and thrown into prison; and thirty-two ships of that description were taken by Caius Matienus on the Ligurian coast. Lucius Aurelius Cotta and Caius Sulpicius Gallus were sent to Rome with an account of these transactions, and with letters to the senate: they were ordered at the same time to request that, as the business of the province was finished, Lucius Æmilius might have permission to leave it, and to bring away his troops and disband them. The senate granted both, and decreed a supplication at all the shrines for three days; giving orders to the pretors that Petillius should discharge the city legions; that Fabius should excuse the allies and Latines from the levies; and that the city pretor should write to the consuls that the senate thought proper that the occasional soldiers enlisted on account of the sudden alarm should be immediately discharged.

29. The colony of Gravisca was established this year in a district of Etruria formerly taken from the Tarquinians, and five acres of land were given to each settler. The commissioners who conducted it were Caius Calpurnius Piso, Publius Claudius Pulcher, and Caius Terentius Istra. The year was rendered remarkable by a drought, and a scarcity of the productions of the earth. Writers mention that, during the space of six months, no rain fell. In the same year some workmen in the farm of Lucius Petillius, a notary, at the foot of the Janiculum, digging the ground deeper than usual, discovered two stone chests, about eight feet long and four broad, the covers of which were soldered with lead. Both the chests had inscriptions in Greek and Latin letters; one signifying that therein was buried Numa Pompilius, son of Pompo, and king of the Romans; the other that therein were contained the books of Numa Pompilius. The owner of the ground having by the advice of his friends opened these chests, found the one which, according to its inscription, contained the body of the king, perfectly empty,

without any appearance of a human body or of any thing else having ever been in it ; the whole being consumed by the decay of such a number of years. In the other were found two bundles, tied round with waxed cords, and each containing seven books, not only entire, but apparently quite fresh. Seven were in Latin, and related to the pontifical law ; and seven in Greek, containing the doctrines of philosophy, such as might have been known in that age. Valerius Antias adds, that they contained the doctrines of Pythagoras ; supporting by this plausible fiction the credit of the vulgar opinion, that Numa had been a disciple of Pythagoras. The books were read first by Petillius's friends, who were present at the discovery, and afterward by many others, until they came to be publicly spoken of. Then Quintus Petillius, the city pretor, having a desire to read them, borrowed them from Lucius Petillius, with whom he was familiarly acquainted, in consequence of Quintus Petillius having, when questor, chosen him, who was a notary, a decurion of horse. On reading the principal heads of the contents, he perceived that most of them had a tendency to undermine the established system of religious doctrines ; and thereon he told Lucius Petillius that "he was determined to throw those books into the fire ; but before he did so he gave him leave, if he thought he had any right or title to demand the restitution of them, to make the trial, which would not give him the least offence." The notary applied to the plebeian tribunes, and the tribunes referred the matter to the senate. The pretor declared that he was ready to make oath that those books ought not to be read or preserved ; and the senate decreed that "the pretor's having offered his oath ought to be deemed sufficient evidence that those books should, without delay, be burnt in the comitium ; and that the owner should be paid for them such price as might be judged reasonable by the Pretor Quintus Petillius and the majority of the plebeian tribunes." This the notary did not assent to. The books, however, were burnt in the comitium, in the view of the people ; the fire being made by the public servants, whose duty it was to assist at sacrifices.

30. A formidable war broke out this summer in the Hither Spain, where the Celtiberians assembled such a force as they had hardly ever brought into the field before, amounting to no less than thirty-five thousand men. This province was gov-

erned by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who, on hearing that the Celtiberians were arming their young men, drew together all the succours he could procure from the allies. But he was still far inferior to the enemy in point of numbers. Early in spring he marched his army into Carpetania, and fixed his camp close to the town of Æbura, in which he posted a small garrison. In a few days after the Celtiberians pitched their camp at the foot of a hill, about two miles from thence. When the Roman pretor was informed of their coming, he detached his brother, Marcus Fulvius, with two troops of the allied horse, to the enemy's post, to take a view of them; ordering him to advance as near as possible to their rampart, so as to form a judgment of the size of the camp; and not to engage in fight, but to retreat, if he should see the enemy's cavalry coming out. He acted according to his instructions; and for several days there was nothing farther done than these two troops showing themselves, and then retreating when the enemy's cavalry sallied from their tents. At length the Celtiberians came out, with their entire force of horse and foot together; and, drawing up in a line, posted themselves about midway between the two camps. The whole plain was level, and convenient for fighting, and here the Spaniards stood waiting for their enemy. The Roman general kept his men within the rampart during four successive days, while the others constantly drew up theirs, and formed in the same place. The Romans never stirred; and from that time the Celtiberians, finding no opportunity of engaging, remained quiet in their camp; their cavalry only appearing as an advanced guard, to be ready in case of any movement being made by Fulvius. Both parties went for wood and forage behind their own camps, neither interrupting the other.

31. When the Roman pretor thought that, by continuing inactive so many days, he had created in the Celtiberians a firm persuasion that he would not be first in any enterprise, he ordered Lucius Acilius, with the left wing of allies and six thousand provincial auxiliaries, to make the circuit of a mountain behind the enemy; and as soon as he should hear the shout, to pour down from thence on their camp. This party, to avoid being seen, set out in the night. At the dawn of day Flaccus sent Caius Scribonius, a prefect of the allies, with the select horse of the left wing, to the

enemy's rampart ; when the Celtiberians, observing that they approached nearer, and were also more numerous than usual, made the whole body of their cavalry sally out against them, and gave orders to the infantry to follow. Scribonius, according to his instructions, no sooner heard the noise of the enemy's cavalry than he wheeled about and retreated ; on which they pursued with the more violence. First the cavalry, and in a short time the line of infantry, came up, confidently expecting that they should be able to assault the camp before night ; and they advanced within five hundred paces of the rampart. Flaccus, therefore, thinking that they were now drawn far enough from their camp to hinder them from giving it any succour, as he had his troops already formed within the works, burst out from three sides at once ; and at the same time raised the shout, not only to inspire ardour for the fight, but also that it might be heard by the party on the mountain. Nor did these make any delay ; but, according to their orders, poured down on the camp, where the guard consisted of only five hundred men, who were so terrified by the smallness of their numbers, the multitude of the assailants, and the unexpectedness of the affair, that the camp was taken almost without a dispute. Acilius set fire to that part of it which was most exposed to the view of the combatants.

32. The Celtiberians in the rear of their line first observed the flames, and the news spread quickly through the whole army that the camp was lost, being at that moment in a blaze, which filled them with dismay, while it gave fresh spirits to the Romans : for these now heard the shouts of victory raised by their friends, and saw the camp on fire. The Celtiberians hesitated for some time, uncertain how to act ; but when they considered that, in case of a defeat, they had no place of refuge, and that their only hope now lay in their arms, they renewed the combat afresh with greater obstinacy. Their centre was pressed hard by the fifth legion ; but their men advanced with more confidence against the left wing, where they saw that the Romans had posted the provincial auxiliaries, troops of their own kind. The left wing of the Romans was now in danger of being defeated, had not the seventh legion come to its support. At the same time the troops left in garrison at *Æbura* came up during the heat of the battle, and Acilius closed on the enemy's

rear. Thus surrounded, the Celtiberians were for a long time cut off in great numbers, and at last the survivors betook themselves to flight. The cavalry, in two divisions, was sent in pursuit, and made great havoc. There were killed of the enemy on that day twenty-three thousand ; and four thousand eight hundred were taken, with more than five hundred horses and ninety-eight military ensigns. The victory was great, but not obtained without loss of blood. There fell of the two Roman legions a few more than two hundred men ; of the Latine confederates eight hundred and thirty ; and of the foreign auxiliaries about two thousand four hundred. The pretor led back his victorious troops to their tents ; but ordered Acilius to lodge in the camp which he had taken. Next day the spoils were collected, and presents bestowed in public assembly on such as had distinguished themselves by their bravery.

33. The wounded were then conveyed into the town of *Æbura*, and the legions marched through *Carpetania* against *Contrebia*. The garrison there, on being invested, sent for succours to the Celtiberians ; but these were long in coming, not because they were unwilling to give assistance, but that, after they had begun their march, the roads were rendered impassable, and the rivers swelled by continued rains, so that their countrymen, despairing of assistance, capitulated. The same severe weather forced *Flaccus* to bring his whole army into the city. The Celtiberians, who were on their march, having heard nothing of the capitulation, when the rains abated, at last passed the rivers, and came to *Contrebia*. When they saw no camp before the town, supposing either that it was removed to the other side, or that the enemy had retired, they came up towards the walls in careless disorder ; on which the Romans, sallying out from two gates, attacked them before they could recover from their confusion, and effectually routed them. The same circumstance that disabled them from standing their ground and maintaining a fight,—their not having come in one body, or in a regular disposition round their standards,—proved favourable to many in making their escape : for they scattered themselves widely over the whole plain, so that the Romans could nowhere enclose any considerable body of them. However, there were twelve thousand killed, and more than five thousand taken, with four hundred horses, and sixty-two military standards.

The stragglers, flying homewards, turned back another body of Celtiberians, whom they met on the road, by informing them of the surrender of Contrebia, and their own defeat; whereon they all immediately dispersed, and made the best of their way to their several villages and forts. Flaccus, leaving Contrebia, led his legions through Celtiberia, ravaging the country, and reducing a great number of their forts; in consequence of which the greater part of the nation surrendered themselves.

34. Such were the transactions of that year in the Hither Spain. In the farther province Manlius fought several successful battles with the Lusitanians. In the same year the Latine colony of Aquileia was established in the Gallic territory. Three thousand foot-soldiers received each fifty acres, centurions a hundred, horsemen a hundred and forty. The commissioners who conducted the settlement were Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, Caius Flaminius, and Lucius Manlius Acidinus. Two temples were dedicated this year; one to Venus Erycina, at the Colline gate, the ceremony being performed by Lucius Porcius Licinius, duumvir, son of Lucius. This temple had been vowed, during the Ligurian war, by Lucius Porcius, consul. The other to Piety, in the herb-market. This was dedicated by Manlius Acilius Glabrio, duumvir, who erected a gilded statue of his father Glabrio, the first of the kind that ever was seen in Italy. This was the person who vowed the temple on the day whereon he gained the decisive victory over King Antiochus at Thermopylæ, and who likewise had contracted for its being built, in pursuance of a decree of senate. At the same time, when these temples were consecrated, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, proconsul, triumphed over the Ingaunian Ligurians. He carried in the procession twenty-five golden crowns, but no other article of either gold or silver. Many Ligurian chiefs were led captives before his chariot, and he distributed to each of his soldiers three hundred asses.* The reputation of this triumph was enhanced by the arrival of ambassadors from the Ligurians, begging that a perpetual peace might be established; and averring that "the Ligurians had come to a resolution never again to take arms on any occasion, except when commanded by the Roman people." Quin-

* 19s. 4d.

tus Fabius, pretor, by order of the senate, gave the Ligurians this answer: that "such kind of language was not new with the Ligurians; but it concerned chiefly their own interest that their disposition should be new, and conformable to their language. They must go to the consuls, and act as they should command; for the senate would never believe from any other than the consuls that the Ligurians were really and sincerely disposed to peace." Peace, however, was made with that people. In Corsica a battle was fought, in which the Pretor Marcus Pinarius slew in the field two thousand of the islanders; by which loss they were compelled to give hostages and a hundred thousand pounds of wax. The army was then carried over into Sardinia, and some successful battles were fought with the Ilians, a nation, even at the present day, not in every particular friendly to us. In this year a hundred hostages were restored to the Carthaginians, and the Roman people enabled them to live in peace, not only among themselves, but also with Masinissa, who at that time with an armed force held possession of the land in dispute.

35. The consuls had nothing to do in their province. Marcus Bæbius, being summoned home to Rome to preside at the elections, created consuls Aulus Postumius Albinus Lucus and Caius Calpurnius Piso. [A. U. C. 572. B. C. 180.] Then were made pretors Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Cornelius Mammula, Titus Minucius Molliculus, Aulus Hostilius Mancinus, and Caius Mænius. All these entered into office on the ides of March. In the beginning of this year (the consulate of Aulus Postumius Albinus and Caius Calpurnius Piso) the Consul Aulus Postumius introduced to an audience of the senate a deputation sent from the Hither Spain by Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and composed of Lucius Minucius, lieutenant-general, and two military tribunes, Titus Mænius and Lucius Terentius Massa. These, after informing the senate of the two victories gained, of the submission of Celtiberia, and of peace being re-established, and that there was no occasion either to send pay, as usual, or corn to the army for that year, requested first, that "on account of these successes a thanksgiving should be performed to the immortal gods;" and then, that "leave should be given to Quintus Fulvius, on his quitting the province, to bring home thence the army which had served under him,

and many former pretors, with much bravery." They represented that "this measure, besides the propriety of it, was in some degree necessary, for the troops were so obstinately bent on it that it did not seem possible to keep them longer in the province; but, if they were not called away, they would either leave it without orders, or, if compulsory methods were employed to detain them, would break out into a dangerous mutiny." The senate ordered that Liguria should be the province of both the consuls. The pretors then cast lots for theirs. The city jurisdiction fell to Aulus Hostilius; the foreign, to Titus Minucius; Sicily, to Publius Cornelius; Sardinia, to Caius Mænius; Farther Spain, to Lucius Postumius; and the Hither, to Tiberius Sempronius. As this last was to succeed Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, and wished that the province might not be stripped of the veteran troops, he spoke thus: "Quintus Minucius, I demand of you, since you assert in your report that peace is re-established in the province,—is it your opinion that the Celtiberians will always faithfully observe the treaty, so that the province may be kept in obedience without an army? If you cannot give us any assurance of, or undertake to answer for, the fidelity of the barbarians, but think that, at all events, there must be an army maintained there; I pray you, whether would you recommend to the senate to send a re-enforcement into Spain, in order that those soldiers only who have served out their time may be discharged, and the recruits mixed with the veterans, or to withdraw the veteran legions, and enlist new ones in their place; and this, although the contempt entertained for such soldiers might rouse barbarians of more pacific tempers to a renewal of war? It would be a matter easier said than done, to reduce to complete subjection a province naturally fierce and remarkable for its frequent renewals of hostility. A few states, as I am informed, who were awed more than the rest by the nearness of our winter quarters, have submitted to our authority and dominion, while those more remote are in arms. This being the case, conscript fathers, I now give notice beforehand, that with the army at present there, I will undertake to execute the business of the public; but, if Flaccus brings those legions home with him, I will choose some quiet part of the country for winter quarters, and will not expose undisciplined soldiers to an enemy so remarkably ferocious."

36. To these questions the lieutenant-general answered, that "neither he nor any other could possibly divine what were the sentiments of the Celtiberians, or what they would be in future; therefore he could not deny that it would be proper to send an army among a barbarous people, who, though reduced to a state of quiet, were not yet sufficiently inured to subjection; but whether a new army or a veteran one might be requisite, was a question which he alone could answer, who knew with what sincerity the Celtiberians would observe the peace; and who, at the same time, had assurance that the troops would remain quiet if kept longer in the province. If a conjecture were to be formed of their intentions, either from their conversations with each other, or from the expressions with which they interrupted the general's harangues, they had openly and loudly declared that they would either keep their commander in the province, or come home with him to Italy." This discussion between the pretor and the lieutenant-general was suspended by the consuls introducing other matters; for they demanded that the business of their own provinces might be adjusted before that of the pretors should be proceeded on. An army entirely new was decreed to the consuls; two Roman legions with their proportion of cavalry; and of the Latine allies the usual number of fifteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse. With these forces they were directed to make war on the Apuan Ligurians. Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius were continued in command, and ordered to hold the government of the provinces until the consuls should arrive. They were then to disband their troops and return to Rome. Next was taken into consideration the business of the army under Tiberius Sempronius. The consuls were ordered to enlist for him a new legion of five thousand two hundred foot and four hundred horse, and also a thousand Roman foot and five hundred horse; and to command the allies of Latium to furnish seven thousand foot and three hundred horse. With this army it was determined that Sempronius should go into the Hither Spain. Permission was granted to Quintus Fulvius with respect to all those soldiers, whether Romans or allies, who had been transported into Spain previous to the consulate of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Marcius; and likewise to such as, after the junction of the re-enforcements, should be found

redundant in the two legions, above the number of ten thousand four hundred foot and six hundred horse; and in the *Latine* auxiliaries above twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse, and who had behaved with courage under *Quintus Fulvius* in the two battles with the *Celtiberians*,—these, if he thought proper, he might bring home. Thanksgivings for his successes were also decreed, and the rest of the pretors sent into their provinces. *Quintus Fabius Buteo* was continued in command in Gaul. It was resolved that eight legions should be employed this year besides the veteran army then in *Liguria*, which expected to be speedily disbanded; and even this number of men could with difficulty be made up, in consequence of the pestilence which continued for the third year to depopulate the city of Rome and all Italy.

37. *Tiberius Minucius*, the pretor, died of this malady; and soon after *Caius Calpurnius*, the consul; also many illustrious men of all ranks; so that at last it began to be considered as a prodigy. *Caius Servilius*, chief pontiff, was ordered to find out proper atonements for the wrath of the gods; the decemvirs to inspect the books, and the consul to vow offerings, and to present gilded statues to *Apollo*, *Æsculapius*, and *Health*; all which he performed. The decemvirs proclaimed, on account of the sickness, a supplication of two days in the city, and in all the market-towns and villages; which supplication every person above the age of twelve years performed with garlands on their heads, and holding laurels in their hands. There had also crept into people's minds a suspicion of human villany in regard to it; whereon *Caius Claudius*, pretor, who had been substituted in the room of *Tiberius Minucius*, was commissioned, by a decree of senate, to make inquisition concerning acts of sorcery committed in the city, or within ten miles of it; and *Caius Mænius* was ordered to do the same, before he passed over to his province, *Sardinia*, in the market-towns and villages, beyond the tenth stone. The death of the consul created strong suspicions. It was reported that he had been murdered by his wife *Quarta Hostilia*; and when her son, *Quintus Fulvius Flaccus*, was proclaimed consul in the room of his stepfather, the suspicions of the public respecting the death of *Piso* were greatly augmented: for witnesses appeared who testified that, after *Albinus* and *Piso* were

declared consuls, in which election Flaccus had suffered a disappointment, his mother upbraided him with being refused the consulship a third time, and then desired him to stand candidate again, saying, "she would take such measures that within two months he should be made consul." This expression, verified by the event, exactly corresponding with and joined to many other evidences of the same tendency, appeared such strong proof, that Hostilia was condemned. In the spring of this year the levies detained the new consuls at Rome; while the death of one of them, and the holding of the assembly to substitute another in his place, occasioned still farther delays. Publius Cornelius and Marcus Bæbius, who in their consulate had done nothing worth mention, led their troops into the country of the Apuan Ligurians.

38. The Ligurians had no thought of being attacked before the consuls arrived in the province. Being thus surprised, they surrendered to the number of twelve thousand men. Cornelius and Bæbius, having consulted the senate by letter, determined to bring them down from their mountains into a plain country, so far from home that they should have no hope of a return; for they were convinced that by no other means could a final end be put to the war in Liguria. There was a tract of land in Samnium, the public property of the Roman people, formerly occupied by the Taurasians, and hither they intended to transplant the Apuan Ligurians. Accordingly, they published an order that this people should quit the mountains, with their wives and children, and bring all their effects along with them. The Ligurians made, by their ambassadors, many humble supplications that they might not be compelled to relinquish their native home, the soil in which they were born, and the tombs of their forefathers. They promised to give up their arms, and deliver hostages; but failing in all their solicitations, and being destitute of strength for the maintenance of a war, they obeyed the order. Forty thousand men of free condition, with their women and children, were transplanted at the expense of the public, and a hundred and fifty thousand sesterces* were given them, to provide necessaries for their new habitations. Cornelius and Bæbius, who removed

* 1210*l.* 19*s.* 9*d.*

them, were commissioned to divide and apportion the lands ; but, at their own request, the senate appointed five other commissioners to assist them with their advice. When they had finished this business, and brought home their veteran soldiers to Rome, the senate decreed them a triumph. These were the first who ever triumphed without having fought an enemy. Hostages only were led before their chariots ; for there appeared not in their triumphs either spoils to be carried, or prisoners to be led captives, or money to be distributed to the soldiers.

39. With regard to the affairs of Spain, this year Fulvius, propretor, as his successor did not come to the province at the usual time, drew out the troops from their winter quarters, and proceeded to lay waste the farther part of Celtiberia, whose inhabitants had not come in to make submission. But by this proceeding he rather provoked than terrified the barbarians ; so that, having collected secretly a body of forces, they beset the Manlian pass, through which they knew with certainty that the Roman army was to march. Gracchus had commissioned his colleague, Lucius Postumius Albinus, who was going to the Farther Spain, to desire Quintus Fulvius to bring his forces to Tarraco, where he intended to discharge the veterans, to fill up the corps with the new supplies, and to put the whole army in complete order. The day also was mentioned to Flaccus, and that not very distant, on which his successor would arrive. On being informed of this new disposition, Flaccus was forced to drop the business which he had undertaken, and to lead away the troops in haste out of Celtiberia. The barbarians, unacquainted with the reason, and supposing that he had discovered their revolt and secret assembling of an army, and that he was retreating through fear, exerted themselves with greater confidence to secure the pass. The Roman army entered this defile at the dawn of day, and immediately the enemy starting up, suddenly attacked it on two sides at once. Flaccus, seeing this, took pains to quiet the confusion caused by the first alarm, by giving orders through the centurions that every man should keep his post in the order of march, and get ready his arms ; then collecting the baggage and beasts of burden into one spot, partly by himself, partly by the help of the lieutenant-generals and military tribunes, without any hurry or confusion, he formed

his troops as the time and place required. He put them in mind that they were to engage with men "who had been twice reduced to submission; who had acquired an addition of wickedness and perfidy, but not of courage or spirit. That these people had put it into their power to make their return to their country glorious and splendid; for they would now carry home their swords reeking with the blood of the enemy, and spoils dropping the same." The time allowed not more to be said; the enemy advanced on them; the extremities of the wings were already engaged, and quickly after the entire lines.

40. The battle was furious in every part, but the success various. The two legions fought with extraordinary bravery; nor were the two cohorts of the allies remiss; but the foreign auxiliaries were hard pressed, by men armed like themselves, and much better qualified for soldiers; nor were they able to maintain their ground. The Celtiberians, perceiving that in a regular line and in fair fighting they were no match for the legions, made a push against them in the form of a wedge, in which sort of attack they excel so much, that on whatever part they direct their assault they never fail to make an impression. On this occasion, too, the legions were disordered, and the line was almost broken. When Flaccus observed this disorder, he rode up to the legionary cavalry, asking them, "Have we any support in you? Is the whole army to be lost?" Whereon they called to him from all sides to "tell them what he wished to be done; and that it should be instantly attempted."—"Double your troops," he replied, "and charge the wedge by which we are attacked; increase the force of your horses by taking off their bridles, and then spur them on against the foe." This expedient historians mention to have been often employed by the Roman cavalry with great advantage. They did as directed, pushing in full career through that body, twice forward and backward, breaking their spears to pieces, and making great havoc of the enemy. The Celtiberians, on this dispersion of their wedge, on which they had placed their whole reliance, were quite dismayed, and, almost giving over the fight, looked about for ways to escape. And now, when the allied horse saw this brilliant exploit of the Roman cavalry, they were so inflamed by the example of their bravery, that, without waiting for orders, they made a charge on the enemy while they were

in confusion. The Celtiberians made no longer resistance; all fled in haste, and the Roman general, when he saw their backs, vowed a temple to Equestrian Fortune, and games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great. The fugitives, dispersing, were pursued with much slaughter through the whole length of the pass. According to some historians, seventeen thousand of the enemy were killed on this occasion, and more than three thousand taken, with two hundred and seventy-seven military standards, and near one thousand one hundred horses. The victorious army pitched no camp on that day. This victory, however, was not gained without loss; four hundred and seventy-two Roman soldiers, one thousand and nineteen of the allies and Latines, with three thousand of the auxiliaries, perished. The Roman troops having thus reasserted their former renown, finished their march to Tarraco. The Pretor Tiberius Sempronius, who had arrived two days before, came out to meet Fulvius on the road, and congratulate him on the important services which he had rendered to the commonwealth. They then, with perfect unanimity, settled what soldiers they should discharge and what they should retain; and Fulvius, embarking the disbanded soldiers in the fleet, set sail for Rome, while Sempronius led the legions into Celtiberia.

41. Both the consuls led their armies into Liguria, but on different sides. Postumius, with the first and third legions, invested the mountains of Balista and Suismontium; and by securing the narrow passes leading thereto with guards, cut off all supplies of provisions; by which means he reduced them to an entire obedience. Fulvius, with the second and fourth legions, marched from Pisæ against the Apuan Ligurians; and having received the submission of that part of them which inhabited the banks of the river Macra, he put them on board ships, to the number of seven thousand men, and sent them along the Etrurian coast to Neapolis, from whence they were conducted into Samnium, and had lands assigned them among their countrymen. Aulus Postumius cut down the vineyards, and burnt the corn of the Ligurians of the mountains, until, by making them suffer all the calamities of war, he compelled them to surrender and deliver up their arms. From thence Postumius proceeded by sea to visit the coast of the Ingaunian and Intemelian tribes. Before these consuls joined the army at Pisæ it was under the

command of Aulus Postumius and a brother of Quintus Fulvius, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who was military tribune of the second legion. The tribune, in his months of command,* disbanded the legion, after obliging the centurions to swear that they would carry the money in their hands to the treasury, and deliver it to the questors. When intelligence of this was brought to Aulus at Placentia, to which place he happened to have made an excursion, he set out with some light horsemen in quest of the disbanded men; and such as he could overtake he sharply rebuked, and brought back to Pise, and then sent information of the whole matter to the consul. He laid the business before the senate, who passed a decree that Marcus Fulvius should be banished into that part of Spain beyond New Carthage; and a letter was given him by the consul to be carried into the farther part of Spain, to Publius Manlius. The soldiers were ordered to return to their standards; and it was decreed that, as a mark of disgrace, that legion should for that year receive but half a year's pay. The consul was likewise ordered to sell as a slave every soldier who should not return to the army, and to confiscate his goods.

42. Lucius Duronius, who had been pretor the year before, returned now with ten ships from Illyricum to Brundisium, and leaving the fleet in that harbour, came to Rome. In giving a recital of the services which he had performed in his province, he threw the blame of all the piracies committed by sea on Gentius King of Illyricum. "From his kingdom," he said, "came all the ships that had ravaged the coast; that he had sent ambassadors on the subject, but they were not even allowed an audience of the king." Some time before this ambassadors had come to Rome from Gentius, who said, that "when the Romans came and desired audience of the king, he happened to be sick in a remote part of his dominions; and that Gentius requested of the senate not to give credit to the forged charges which his enemies made against him." Duronius added, that many Roman citizens and Latin allies suffered ill treatment in Gentius's dominions, some of whom he held in confinement in Corcyra. An order was made that all these should be brought to Rome; that the

* As there were six tribunes in each legion, they took the command of it in turn, each holding it for two months.

Pretor Caius Claudius should inquire into the business; and that, until this were done, no answer should be given to the king or his ambassadors. Among many who were cut off by the pestilence this year, were several priests. Lucius Valerius Flaccus, a pontiff, died of it; and in his room was substituted Quintus Fabius Labeo. Publius Manlius, who had lately come home from the Farther Spain, and was triumvir of religious feasts, died also, who was succeeded by Quintus Fulvius, son of Marcus, then a mere youth. The appointing of a king of the sacrifices in the room of Cneius Cornelius Dolabella, gave rise to a dispute between Caius Servilius, chief pontiff, and Lucius Cornelius Dolabella, naval duumvir. The pontiff required, before he inaugurated him, that he should resign his commission; and on his refusing this, the pontiff imposed a fine on the duumvir. The latter then appealed, and the affair was brought to trial before the people. After a majority of the tribes were called in to give their votes, and had ordered that the duumvir should comply with the requisition of the pontiff, and that on his resigning his commission the fine should be remitted, an unfavourable omen from the heavens intervened, and broke off the proceedings of the assembly. After this the pontiffs were prevented by religious scruples from inaugurating Dolabella. They consecrated Publius Clælius Siculus as king of the sacrifices, who had been invested pontiff in the second place. Towards the end of the year, Caius Servilius Geminus, the chief pontiff, also died; he was moreover decemvir of religious affairs. In his room, as pontiff, Quintus Fulvius Flaccus was nominated by the college; but the post of chief pontiff, though sought by many illustrious candidates, was conferred on Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, as was that of decemvir of religious affairs, vacant by the death of the same person, on Quintus Marcius Philippus. Spurius Postumius Albinus, an augur, died; and the augurs filled his place with Publius Scipio, son of Africanus. On the request of the people of Cumæ, leave was granted them to use the Latine language in their public business, and their auctioneers also, in selling goods.

43. The Pisans, making an offer of grounds for the establishment of a Latine colony, received the thanks of the senate, and commissioners were appointed to conduct that business: these were Quintus Fabius Buteo, Marcus Pompilius

Lænas, and Publius Pompilius Lænas. Caius Mænius, pretor, who, on his appointment to the government of Sardinia, had also received commission to make inquisition concerning practices of sorcery in places more than ten miles distant from the city, represented in a letter that "he had already passed sentence on three thousand people; and that still, in consequence of fresh discoveries, the business increased so much on his hands, that he must either drop the prosecution of the inquiries or give up the province." Quintus Fulvius Flaccus returned from Spain with a high reputation for his military exploits; and, while he waited without the city in expectation of a triumph, was elected consul with Lucius Manlius Acidinus. [A. U. C. 573. B. C. 179.] A few days after which, with the soldiers whom he had brought home, he rode into the city in triumph. He carried in the procession a hundred and twenty-four golden crowns, together with thirty-one pounds' weight of gold, and of coined Oscan silver a hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred pieces.* He gave out of the booty to each of the soldiers fifty denariuses; double to a centurion; triple to a horseman; and the same sums to the Latine allies, with double pay to all. This year, for the first time, a law was proposed by Lucius Villius, plebeian tribune, ascertaining the ages at which men might sue for and hold the several offices in the state. Hence his family acquired the surname of Annalis.

44. The Bæbian law, which ordered that every second year the number of pretors should be four, and which had been overlooked for many years, was now observed; and the persons appointed were Cneius Cornelius Scipio, Caius Valerius Lævinus, Quintus Mucius Scævola, and Publius Mucius Scævola, sons of Quintus. To the consuls, Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, was decreed the same province as to the preceding ones; and the same number of forces, infantry, cavalry, citizens, and allies. In the two Spains, Tiberius Sempronius and Lucius Postumius were continued in command with the same armies which they then had; and, to fill up their numbers, the consuls were ordered to enlist, of Romans, three thousand foot and three hundred horse; and of the Latine allies, five thousand foot and four hundred

* 5592l. 17s. 4d.

horse. The lots gave to Publius Mucius Scævola the city jurisdiction, and the business of the inquisitions concerning sorcery in the city and within ten miles of it; to Cneius Scipio the foreign jurisdiction; to Quintus Mucius Scævola, Sicily; and to Caius Valerius Lævinus, Sardinia. The Consul Quintus Fulvius, before he meddled with the public business, declared that "he intended to acquit both himself and the state of the obligation of fulfilling the vows which he had made: that on the day of his last battle with the Celtiberians he had vowed to perform games in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great, and to build a temple to Equestrian Fortune; and that the Spaniards had made a contribution of money for these purposes." A vote was passed that the games should be performed, and that duumvirs should be appointed to contract for the building of the temple. With regard to the expenses, a limitation was fixed, that "no greater sum should be expended on the games than that which had been voted to Fulvius Nobilior, when he exhibited such on the conclusion of the Ætolian war; and that the consul should not, on account of these, send for, collect, or receive any thing, or act in any respect contrary to the decree of senate passed concerning games in the consulate of Lucius Æmilius and Cneius Bæbius." The senate qualified their vote in this manner because Tiberius Sempronius, in his edileship, had expended on the like exhibitions such enormous sums as were burdensome, not only to the Latine allies and Italy, but even to the provinces abroad.

45. The winter of that year was rendered remarkably severe by great falls of snow, and storms of every kind: those kinds of trees which are susceptible of injury from cold were entirely blighted; and its duration, also, was unusually long: so that the Latine festival on the mount was broken off soon after its commencement by a hurricane coming on suddenly, and with irresistible fury; but it was celebrated afterward, pursuant to an order of the pontiffs. The same storm also threw down many statues in the capitol; disfigured many buildings by lightning, as the temple of Jupiter at Tarracina, the white temple, and the Roman gate at Capua; and in many places the battlements of the walls were overthrown. Among the rest of these prodigies, an account was received from Reate that a mule with three feet was foaled there. On account of these portents the decemvirs were ordered to

consult the books. They directed to what gods, and with how many victims, sacrifices should be performed ; and that, on account of the many places being struck by lightning, a supplication should be performed at the temple of Jupiter of one day. Then the votive games of the Consul Quintus Fulvius were exhibited with great magnificence during ten days. Soon after was held the election of censors, when Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, who had triumphed over the Ætolians, were chosen. It was universally known that a strong enmity subsisted between these two ; for they had published it often, by many disputes in the senate and in the assemblies of the people. When the election was ended, according to ancient custom, they seated themselves in curule chairs in the field near the altar of Mars ; when in a few minutes came up thither the principal senators, accompanied by the body of the citizens, among whom was Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, who spoke as follows :—

46. “Censors, we are not unmindful that you have been just now invested, by the whole body of the Roman people, with authority to preside over the morals of the state ; and that we ought to be admonished and ruled by you, not you by us. Nevertheless, it may not be improper to point out what all good men blame in you, or, at least, somewhat which they wish to see altered. When we look at you separately, Marcus Æmilius, Marcus Fulvius, we know not, in the whole state, any one person whom, if we were called back to vote, we could wish to be preferred to you ; but when we behold you both together, we cannot avoid fearing that you are but ill associated, and that the public may not reap as much advantage from your being exceedingly pleasing to every one of us, as prejudice from your being displeasing one to another. You have for many years past harboured an enmity, violent in its degree, and detrimental to yourselves ; and we justly fear, that from this day forward it may prove more detrimental to us and to the state than it has been to you. As to the reasons on which these our fears are founded, many observations which might be made will readily occur to yourselves, unless, perhaps, your implacable resentments have totally engrossed your minds. These resentments we all beseech you, to terminate this day, in that sacred place, and to suffer persons whom the Roman

people have united by their suffrages to be united through our means ; and that you will, with unanimity and harmony, choose the senate, review the knights, perform the survey, and close the lustrum ; and that, when you utter those words which make part of almost all your prayers, ‘that such a matter may prove prosperous and happy to me and my colleague,’ you will truly and sincerely wish it to prove so ; and that you will act in such a manner as that, whatever you beg from the immortal gods, we mortals also may be convinced that you really desire it. Titus Tatius and Romulus, after having encountered as enemies in the middle of the forum, reigned with concord in the same city. Not only quarrels, but wars are accommodated ; and, from bitter foes, men frequently become faithful allies, nay, sometimes countrymen. The Albans, after the demolition of Alba, were transplanted to Rome : the Latines, the Sabines, were admitted into the number of citizens. It is a common saying, and, because founded in truth, has become a proverb, that friendships ought to be immortal, but enmities mortal.” A universal roar of approbation was now heard ; and presently after the voices of every one present, all joining in the same request, interrupted his discourse. Then Æmilius, besides other complaints, represented that, through Fulvius’s intrigues, he had been twice disappointed of the consulship, when he had reason to think himself sure of obtaining it. On the other hand, Fulvius complained that Æmilius sought every opportunity of injuring him ; had instituted a prosecution against him, and obliged him to give surety to abide judgment, to his great discredit. Nevertheless, each of them intimated, that if the other would do the same, he was ready to submit to the direction of such a number of the most respectable members of the state ; and all present urgently repeating their request, they mutually pledged their right hands, and their honour, to dismiss and forget all animosity. The whole assembly expressed the highest applause of their behaviour, and then escorted them to the capitol, where both the attention paid to such a matter by the persons of the first consequence, and the compliance of the censors, were most warmly approved and commended by the senate. The censors then demanded that a sum of money should be assigned to them which they might employ in public works ; and the customs of one year were accordingly decreed to them.

47. Meanwhile, in Spain, the proprietors Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Sempronius settled between them that Albinus should march through Lusitania, against the Vaccæans, and thence return into Celtiberia. Gracchus penetrated into the remotest part of that province, because the commotions there were the most dangerous. First he made an unexpected assault on the city of Munda by night, and took it by storm; then, having received hostages, and placed a garrison in the town, he proceeded to attack their forts, and ravage their country with fire, until he arrived at another small town called by the natives Certina. While he was employed here in advancing his works to the walls, deputies came out from the town, who spoke with all the simplicity of the earliest times, not dissembling their wishes to continue the war if they could procure strength to support it, for they requested permission to go into the camp of the Celtiberians, and solicit assistance from them; and said, that "if they did not obtain it, they would then consult their own interests separately, without regard to them." This being granted by Gracchus, they went accordingly, and in a few days after came back with ten ambassadors. They arrived about noon; and the first thing that they asked of the pretor was, that he would order some drink to be given them. After drinking off the first cups they called for more, while all who were present could not refrain from laughing at a people so unpolished, so ignorant of every thing like civilized manners. Then the eldest of them said, "We have been sent by our nation to ask what it is that gives you so much confidence that you should venture to come and make an attack on them?" To this question Gracchus answered, that "he came relying on an excellent army; which, if they chose to see, in order to carry back certain information to their friends, he would give them an opportunity:" and then he ordered the military tribunes to draw up in array all the forces, both horse and foot, and make them go through their exercise in arms. After this sight the ambassadors were dismissed; and they gave such accounts as deterred their people from attempting to succour the besieged city. The townsmen raised fires on the towers, which was the signal agreed on; but receiving no answer, and being thus disappointed in their only hope of relief, they capitulated. A contribution of two million four hundred thousand sester-

ces* was imposed on them; and they were obliged to furnish forty horsemen of the highest rank among them, not under the denomination of hostages, for they were ordered to serve as soldiers, but in reality to be pledges for their fidelity.

48. Gracchus then marched to the city of Alce, where lay the camp of the Celtiberians, from which the ambassadors had lately come. For some days he harassed them with skirmishes, sending his light troops to charge their advanced guards; and then made more important attacks, in order to draw them from out of their intrenchments. As soon as he perceived that his plan took effect, he gave orders to the prefects of the auxiliaries that, after a short contest, they should suddenly turn their backs, as if overpowered by numbers, and fly with all haste to the camp: in the meantime he himself drew up all his forces in order within the rampart, at all the gates. It was not long until he saw his detachment flying towards him, as had been previously agreed, and the barbarians following in a disorderly pursuit. This was exactly what he wanted; and his troops were formed in readiness to lay hold on the occasion. He therefore delayed no longer than to leave the passage open for his party, which was flying to get into the camp; and then, raising the shout, he caused them to rush out from all the gates at once. The enemy did not sustain the unexpected shock. They who came to assault his camp could not even defend their own; for they were instantly routed, put to flight, driven in a panic within their trenches, and, at last, beaten out of them. In this action nine thousand of the enemy were killed, and three hundred and twenty taken, with a hundred and twelve horses, and thirty-seven military ensigns. Of the Roman army there fell a hundred and nine.

49. After this battle Gracchus employed the legions in ravaging the country of Celtiberia. After he had spread depredations of every kind to a vast extent, some states voluntarily, others through fear, submitted to his yoke; so that within a few days he received the submission of a hundred and three towns, besides having acquired an immense booty. He then marched to Alce, whence he came, and opened the siege of that city. The townsmen withstood the first assault; but when they afterward found themselves attacked,

* 19,375.

not only by arms, but works also, they despaired of being able to defend the place, and retired into the citadel. After some time they sent envoys, and surrendered themselves and every thing belonging to them to the Romans. The plunder here was very great. Many prisoners of distinction fell into the victors' hands; among whom were two sons and a daughter of Turrus. This chieftain, who governed those tribes, was by far the most powerful of all the Spaniards. On hearing the disasters of his countrymen, he sent for a passport, and coming into the camp to Gracchus, asked him first, "Whether the lives of himself and his subjects would be spared?" The pretor answered that they would: then he asked again, "Whether it would be allowed him to bear arms on the side of the Romans?" To this, too, Gracchus assented; on which he said, "I will follow you, then, against my old allies, since they have not thought proper to pay any regard to me." From that time he united himself to the Romans, and acted in their service on many occasions with great courage and fidelity.

50. After this Ergavia, a city of great power and opulence, terrified by the disasters of the surrounding states, opened its gates to the Romans. Some writers say that the submissions of these towns were not made with sincerity; but that, whenever the legions were led away from any quarter of the country, the natives resumed their arms; and that the Roman general fought afterward, near Mount Caunus, a pitched battle with the Celtiberians, which was warmly contested from the break of day to the sixth hour; that many fell on both sides, and that the Romans had no strong proof of their gaining the victory, excepting that next day they offered battle, and the enemy refused to come out of their intrenchments; that they employed that whole day in collecting the spoils, and, on the day following, fought a more desperate battle, in which the Celtiberians were at length completely defeated, and their camp taken and plundered; that twenty-two thousand of the enemy were killed in the action, more than three hundred taken, with almost an equal number of horses, and seventy-two military standards; that this put an end to the war; and that the Celtiberians concluded a peace with a real intention to keep it, and not with their former insincerity. They say also, that during the same summer Lucius Postumius fought two battles in the Farther Spain with the Vaccæans, and gained

complete victories, killed thirty-five thousand men, and took their camp. It is however more probable that he came into the province too late to assist greatly in that campaign.

51. The censors reviewed the senate with cordial harmony. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, the censor, who was likewise chief pontiff, was chosen head of the senate; three were expelled. Lepidus restored some who were struck out by his colleague. They then divided a part of the money assigned to them, and completed therewith the following works:—Lepidus built a mole at Tarracina, an unpopular work, because he had estates there, and brought into the account of the public expenditure what ought to have been done at his own expense. He agreed with contractors for building a theatre near the temple of Apollo, and for embellishing the temple of Jupiter in the capitol, and the columns around it; he also removed from those columns the statues that stood incommodiously before them, and took down the shields and military ensigns of all sorts which were hung on them. Marcus Fulvius made contracts for more numerous and more useful works: a haven on the Tiber, and piers for a bridge across it; on which piers Publius Scipio Africanus and Lucius Mummius, censors, many years after, caused the arches to be erected: a court of justice behind the new bankers' houses, and a fish-market surrounded with shops, which he sold to private persons: also a forum and portico, on the outside of the gate Trigemina; another portico behind the dockyard, and one at the temple of Hercules: also a temple of Apollo Medicus, behind that of Hope, on the bank of the Tiber. They had, besides, some of the money undivided, and out of this they jointly agreed to pay for water being brought to the city, and the raising of the necessary arches; but Marcus Licinius Crassus put a stop to this work, which he would not suffer to be brought through his grounds. They also established many port duties and customs, and took care that several public chapels which were then occupied by private persons should again be open to the people. They likewise made an alteration in the mode of voting; for, through all the regions, they divided the tribes according to the different ranks of men, and their several occupations and callings.*

* In consequence of which regulation, all those of each tribe who were of the same rank and occupation, voted together.

52. One of the censors, Marcus Æmilius, petitioned the senate that a sum of money should be voted to him for the celebration of games, on occasion of the dedication of the temples of Imperial Juno and Diana, which he had vowed eight years before, when employed in the Ligurian war. They accordingly voted twenty thousand asses.* He dedicated those temples in the Flaminian circus; in which place he exhibited stage-plays for three days after the dedication of the temple of Juno, and two after that of Diana, and for one day in the circus of Rome. He also dedicated a temple to the deities of the sea† in the field of Mars. This had been vowed eleven years before by Lucius Æmilius Regillus, in the seafight with the ships of King Antiochus. Over the gate of the temple was hung up a tablet with this inscription: * * * * *

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The same was placed over the gate of the temple of Jupiter, in the capitol.

53. Two days after the censors had reviewed the senate, the Consul Quintus Fulvius marched against the Ligurians; and making his way amid the mountains and difficult passes, fought a pitched battle with the enemy, and not only defeated them in the field, but took their camp the same day. Three thousand two hundred of the enemy, and all that tract of Liguria, surrendered to the conqueror. The consul brought down all those who surrendered into the low lands, and posted guards on the mountains. His letters from that province quickly reached Rome, and a thanksgiving of two days was voted on account of his successes. The pretors, during this thanksgiving, sacrificed forty victims of the larger kinds. The other consul, Lucius Manlius, did nothing in Liguria worth recording. Some transalpine Gauls, to the number of three thousand, came over into Italy, without offering to commit hostilities of any kind, and petitioned the consul and senate for some land, proposing to live as became peaceable subjects, under the government of the Roman

* 64l. 11s. 4d.

† Neptune, Thetis, and Glaucus.

‡ Here are given, in the original, some lines as the inscription; but so corrupted and so defective as to be utterly unintelligible. Gronovius endeavours in vain to explain them: Crevier gives the matter up.

people. But the senate ordered them to quit Italy, and enjoined the Consul Quintus Fulvius to search after and punish those who had been their advisers and leaders in passing the Alps.

54. This year died Philip King of Macedonia, being worn out with age and the grief which had continually preyed on him since the death of his son Demetrius. He spent the winter at Demetrias, in great anguish of mind, occasioned by the loss of his son, and by remorse for his own cruelty. He also received constant cause of disquiet from Perseus, who now considered himself, as did every one else, quite secure of the throne. Philip perceived that the eyes of all were turned from himself; in his old age forsaken and desolate. Some only waited for his death to show their inclinations, while others did not even wait for that event. All this added to the bitterness of his sorrow; in which the only one who sympathized with him was Antigonus son of Echecrates, named after his uncle Antigonus, who had been guardian to Philip. He was a man of royal dignity, and famed for a remarkable battle which he fought against Cleomenes the Lacedæmonian. The Greeks called him the guardian, to distinguish him from the other princes of that surname.* His nephew Antigonus, of all the friends whom Philip had honoured with his favours, alone remained uncorrupted; and this faithful attachment was the cause that Perseus, who had never been his friend, became now his open and most inveterate enemy. He plainly foresaw the great dangers which threatened him, in case of the succession of the crown coming to Perseus; and therefore, as soon as he perceived the king's mind to be softened, and that he sometimes sighed with regret for the loss of Demetrius; that he sometimes listened to people conversing on the subject, and sometimes even introduced the mention of it, as of a proceeding too rashly executed, accompanying the lamentations of Antigonus with his own;—and, as the truth usually affords many traces of itself, he pursued these with the most zealous diligence, in order that the whole might be brought to light as speedily as possible. Of the agents employed in that business, those who were most generally supposed guilty were Apelles and Philocles, who had gone

* They called him also Euergetes, and Soter.

ambassadors to Rome, and had brought the letter under the name of Flamininus, which had proved so ruinous to Demetrius. The common cry in the palace now was, that it was a forgery contrived by the secretary, and that the seal was counterfeited.

55. While this, however, was rather a matter of suspicion than of certainty, Antigonus accidentally met Xychus, on whom he immediately laid hands, and brought to the palace; then, leaving him in custody of a guard, he went on to the apartment of Philip, to whom he said,—“From many conversations I think I may conclude, that it would be highly satisfactory to you to be able to learn the truth respecting your sons; which of the two was guilty of treachery and plotting against the other. The only man in the world who can unravel this mystery is now in your power, Xychus. I met him by accident, and I have brought him to the palace; I entreat you to order him to be called into your presence.” On being brought in, he at first denied every thing; but with such irresolution as showed that a slight application to his fears would readily extort the truth. Accordingly, he did not withstand the sight of the executioner and the instruments of torture, but disclosed the whole process of the villany of the ambassadors, and the part which he himself had acted in it. Orders were instantly despatched to seize the ambassadors; and Philoclea, who was in the town, was apprehended; but Apelles, who had been sent in pursuit of a person called Charea, getting notice of the discovery made by Xychus, fled over into Italy. With respect to Philoclea, no certain account has been published: some say that for a time he boldly denied all knowledge of the matter; but that when Xychus was confronted with him, he persisted no longer; others, that he even suffered the rack without confessing. Philip’s grief was hereby renewed and doubled; and he felt his unhappiness with regard to his children press heavier on him, because one of them was still alive.

56. When Perseus was told that all was discovered, being too powerful to think flight necessary, he only took care to keep out of the way, intending to guard himself, during the remainder of Philip’s life, from the flame, as it were, of his burning resentment. His father, having now no hope of bringing him to punishment, resolved to take vengeance in the only way that was left him; and accordingly he employed

all his endeavours to prevent his enjoying the prize his villany aimed at. To this end he addressed himself to Antigonus, to whom he was obliged for the full discovery of the fratricide; and whom he supposed the Macedonians, considering the fresh renown of his uncle Antigonus, would neither be ashamed nor displeased at having for their king. "Antigonus," said he, "since I have been brought into such a situation that the being childless, a state which other parents reckon a curse, would to me be a blessing, I am resolved to transfer to you the kingdom which I received from your uncle, and which his faithful and resolute guardianship not only preserved for me, but even enlarged. You are the only friend I have whom I can judge worthy of the throne; and, if I had not one such, I should wish the regal dignity to perish and become extinct, rather than be a prize to the treacherous villany of Perseus. I shall think Demetrius recalled from the dead and restored to me, if I can leave in this place such a representative as you, who alone have wept for his innocent death, and for my unhappy error." After this discourse he omitted no opportunity of promoting his interest, by conferring on him honours of every kind; and, as Perseus was absent in Thrace, he made a circuit round the cities of Macedonia, recommending Antigonus to the men of principal consequence; and, had he lived a little longer, he would undoubtedly have left him in possession of the throne. After leaving Demetrias, he stayed longest at Thessalonica; and, on going thence to Amphipolis, was there seized with a severe sickness. Yet it was evident that the disorder of his mind was greater than that of his body, and that the immediate causes of his death were his troubled thoughts and want of rest; for he was frequently thrown into violent agitation by a supposed apparition of his innocent murdered son, and drew his last breath in dreadful imprecations on the other. Nevertheless Antigonus might have been seated on the throne, if either he had been on the spot, or the death of Philip had been immediately divulged. But Calligenes, the physician, who had the care of the king in his sickness, as soon as he observed the first desperate symptoms, despatched the account to Perseus by couriers, who, according to a plan settled, had been previously disposed in convenient places; and, until the prince arrived, he concealed the death of the king from all but those who were in the palace.

57. Perseus, therefore, by his sudden arrival, as people neither expected it nor knew what had happened, crushed all thoughts of opposition, and seized on the throne, the object of his wicked devices. The demise of Philip happened very seasonably for the purpose of gaining time, and collecting strength for the support of a war: for, in a few days after, the nation of the Bastarnians, in consequence of long solicitation, set out from their own country, with a large force of infantry and cavalry, and crossed the Danube. Antigonus and Cotto went forward to carry intelligence of this to the king. Cotto was a Bastarnian of distinction, and Antigonus had been sent, much against his will, with this same Cotto, as ambassador, to persuade his countrymen to take arms. At a small distance from Amphipolis, common report first, and then authentic information, acquainted them with the king's death; which event disconcerted the whole of their plan. The scheme had been settled in this manner:—Philip was to procure for the Bastarnians a safe passage through Thrace, and supplies of provisions; in order to be able to effect which, he had gained the confidence of the chieftains in that country by presents, and had pledged his faith that they should march through it in a peaceable manner. It was proposed to exterminate the nation of the Dardanians, and to give settlements to the Bastarnians in their country; from which measure a double advantage was expected; as, in the first place, the Dardanians, a nation ever hostile to Macedonia, and watchful to take advantage of the misfortunes of its kings, would be removed out of the way; while the invaders might leave their wives and children in Dardania, and be sent to ravage Italy. It was concluded that the road to the Adriatic Sea and Italy was through the country of the Scordiscians, and that the army could not make its passage by any other way; that the Scordiscians would readily grant a passage to the Bastarnians, for they would have no dislike to people resembling themselves in language and manners, and would probably join them in an expedition, when they saw that their object was the plunder of a most opulent nation. The remainder of the plan was accommodated to every kind of event that might take place; for, in case of the Bastarnians being cut off by the Romans, still the removal of the Dardanians, the booty to be gained from the remains of the former, and the full possession of

Dardania, would prove a great consolation. But if they should be successful, then, while the forces of the Romans would be directed against the Bastarnians, the king might recover what he had lost in Greece. Such had been the designs of Philip.

58. The Bastarnians at first marched through the country without doing any mischief, according to the engagements of Cotto and Antigenus : but, on hearing the news of Philip's death, the Thracians soon became troublesome to deal with, and the Bastarnians not content with what they could purchase ; nor could they be kept in a body so as not to go out of the road. In consequence, injuries were committed on both sides ; and, from the daily multiplication of these, war at last blazed out. In the end the Thracians, unable to withstand the great strength and numbers of the enemy, deserted their towns in the plains, and betook themselves to a high mountain, which they call Donuca. The Bastarnians in vain attempted to follow them. We are told that the Gauls, when plundering Delphi, were destroyed by a storm ; so a like storm now discomfited the people when they were approaching the summit of the mountain. They were not only overwhelmed with a deluge of rain, followed by prodigious thick showers of hail, and accompanied with tremendous noises in the sky, peals of thunder, and flashes of lightning, which dazzled their sight ; but the thunderbolts also fell so thick on all sides that they seemed to be aimed at their bodies ; and not only the soldiers, but their officers also, were struck by them, and fell. They fled therefore precipitately ; and hurrying along without looking before them, tumbled down the high precipices of the rocks, while the Thracians, pursuing close, increased their dismay ; but they themselves said that the gods had put them to flight, and that the sky was falling on them. When, after their dispersion by the storm, as after a shipwreck, they returned (most of them half armed) to the camp whence they had set out, they held a consultation about their future proceedings ; on which a disagreement ensued, some advising to return home, and others to push forward into Dardania. About thirty thousand men, under the command of Clondicus, proceeded thither ; the rest marched back by the same road through which they came to the country beyond the Danube. Perseus, as soon as he got possession of the kingdom, ordered

Antigonus to be put to death ; and, until he^f could settle his affairs on a firm foundation, sent ambassadors to Rome to renew the treaty concluded^d by his father, and to request the senate to give him the title of king. These were the transactions of that year in Macedonia.

59. The Consul Quintus Fulvius triumphed over the Ligurians ; but it was plain that he was indebted for this triumph to interest rather than to the greatness of his exploits. He carried in the procession a vast quantity of arms taken from the enemy, but no money ; yet he distributed to each soldier three hundred asses, double to centurions, triple to horsemen. There was nothing in this triumph more remarkable than that it happened to be celebrated on the same day of the year on which he had triumphed after his pretorship the year before. After this he proclaimed the assembly of election, in which were chosen consuls Marcus Junius Brutus and Aulus Manlius Vulso. [A. U. C. 574. B. C. 178.] Afterward, when three pretors had been appointed, Publius Ælius Ligus, Titus Æbutius Carus, and Marcus Titinius, a storm interrupted the election ; but on the following day, the fourth before the ides of March,* the other three were elected, Marcus Titinius Curvus, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and Titus Fonteius Capito. The Roman games were repeated by the curule ediles, Oneius Servilius Cæpio and Appius Claudius Cento, on account of the prodigies which had occurred. In the public forum, during the celebration of a lectisternium, there was an earthquake. The heads of the gods who lay on the couches turned away their faces, and the cloak and coverings placed on Jupiter fell off. It was also considered as a prodigy that the olives on the table were gnawed by mice. For the expiation of these nothing more was done than the re-celebration of the games.

* The eleventh of March.

BOOK XLI.*

[CHAP. 1. In the distribution of the provinces those assigned to the consuls were, to Manlius, Gaul ; and to Junius, Liguria. As to the pretors, the city jurisdiction fell to Marcus Titinius Curvus ; the foreign, to Tiberius Claudius Nero ; Sicily, to Publius Ælius Ligus ; Sardinia, to Titus Æbutius ; the Hither Spain, to the other Marcus Titinius ; and the Farther Spain, to Titus Fonteius Capito. A fire broke out in the forum, and destroyed a great number of buildings. The sacred fire of Vesta was extinguished : the virgin who had the care of it was punished with stripes, by order of Marcus Æmilius, the chief pontiff, and supplication was performed, as usual in such cases. The lustrum was closed by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, censors, in which were rated two hundred and seventy-three thousand two hundred and forty-four citizens. The ambassadors of Perseus arrived, desiring a renewal of the league and the title of king : and although the Romans entertained no friendly disposition to Perseus, whom they had reason to believe disposed, as soon as he should think himself strong enough, to take the first opportunity of commencing that war which had been so long projected by his father Philip ; yet, not to furnish him with any pretext for a quarrel, they complied with both his requests. When Perseus received their answer, he thought himself effectually confirmed on the throne ; at the same time hoping to gain the favour and affection of the Greeks, and which, by various acts of kindness and munificence, he in a great measure effected. Before the new pretors arrived in the Spanish provinces, very important services were performed there by Postumius and Gracchus ; the latter of whom, in particular, acquired a very high reputation, not only as a military com-

* This book is very imperfect ; a great part of the beginning of it is lost ; and there are, besides, considerable chasms in other parts of it. The supplemental passages which the translator has introduced to complete the connexion, are taken from Crevier. They are printed within brackets.

mander, but as a statesman, from his wise adjustment of the terms of peace between the Romans and the conquered nations : for he distributed lands and assigned habitations to such as wanted them ; and, for all the states in that part of the country, he wrote out accurate copies of the like conditions of amity and alliance as with the others, and had them ratified by the oaths of all the parties ; and the authority of which treaty was often appealed to in the following age on occasion of the wars which then broke out. To a town hitherto called Illurcis he gave the name of Gracchuris, as a memorial of his meritorious labours in the province. Postumius did not obtain an equal share of renown, yet he subdued the Vaccæans and Lusitanians ; and both of them, on their return home, after delivering up the provinces to their successors, were honoured with triumphs. In Gaul, Manlius, the consul, to whose lot that province had fallen, not finding any employment that could afford him hopes of a triumph, eagerly embraced an opportunity which fortune threw in his way of entering into a war with the Istrians. This people had formerly sent assistance to the Ætolians in their quarrel with the Romans, and had lately shown a disposition to be troublesome. The king at that time on the throne was called Epulo, and was of a turbulent temper. His father had kept the nation quiet ; but it was now reported that this prince had compelled them to take arms,] and that this had highly endeared him to the youth of the country, who were eager for plunder. The consul held a council on the subject of a war with Istria ; in which some were of opinion that it ought to be begun immediately, before the enemy could collect forces ; others, that the senate ought first to be consulted : the former opinion was adopted. Accordingly the consul, marching from Aquileia, pitched his camp at the Lake Timavus, which lies very near the sea. Thither came Caius Furius, one of the naval commanders, with ten ships ; for two commanders had been appointed to direct the operations of the fleet against that of the Illyrians ; and they were ordered with twenty vessels to protect the coast of the upper sea, making Ancona the common boundary between their stations ; so that Lucius Cornelius had to guard the coasts on the right, from thence to Tarentum, and Caius Furius those on the left as far as Aquileia. This squadron was sent to the nearest port in the Istrian territory, with a num-

ber of transports and a large store of provisions ; while the consul, following with the legions, encamped at the distance of about five miles from the coast. A plentiful market was soon established at the port, and every thing conveyed thence to the camp. That this might be done with greater safety, outposts were fixed around the camp, with a guard opposite the country of Istria. A newly-levied cohort of Placentines was posted between the camp and the sea ; and that the watering-parties might likewise have protection at the river, orders were given to Marcus Æbutius, military tribune, to take thither two companies of the second legion. Titus Ælius, military tribune, led out the third legion on the road towards Aquileia, in support of those that went for food and forage. In the same quarter, at the distance of about five miles, a party of Gauls, not exceeding three thousand in number, lay encamped, under the command of a chieftain called Carmelus.

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2. When the Roman army first reached the Lake Timavus, the Istrians took post behind a hill, where they could not be seen ; and on its march thence followed it through by-ways, watching attentively for some opportunity that might give them an advantage ; nor did any thing that was done, either on land or sea, escape their observation. When they saw the weakness of the advanced guards of the Romans, and that the market-place was filled with an unarmed crowd, who carried on a traffic with the camp, and that they had not fortified themselves either by works on land or by the help of ships, they made an assault on two of their posts at once—the Placentine cohort and the two companies of the second legion. A morning fog concealed their design ; and when this began to disperse, as the sun grew warm, the light piercing through it in some degree, yet still being far from clear, and, as usual in such cases, magnifying the appearance of every thing, imposed so far on the Romans that they thought the force of the enemy much greater than it really was. The troops in both the posts were so terrified that they ran in the utmost confusion to the camp, where they caused much greater alarm than that which they were under themselves : for they could neither tell what made them fly, nor answer any question that was asked. Then a shouting was heard at all the gates.

There were no guards at them capable of withstanding an attack ; and the hurry in which the men crowded and pressed against each other, from the want of light, made it suspected that the enemy were already in the camp. One only cry was heard from all, to hasten to the sea. These words were uttered by one alone, yet the cry quickly resounded in every part. At first, therefore, a few with their arms, and many more without them, as if they had received orders so to do, ran off to the seashore ; then followed others in greater numbers ; and at length almost the whole of the army, with the consul himself, who had endeavoured to call back the runaways by commands, advice, and at last by entreaties, but all to no purpose. Marcus Licinius Strabo, a military tribune of the third legion, with three companies, alone remained ; the rest of his legion having gone off. The Istrians, breaking into the empty camp, and meeting none other to oppose them, came on him while he was drawing up and encouraging his men at the general's quarters ; on which a fight ensued more vigorous than could be expected from so small a band ; nor did it cease until the tribune and those who stood around him were all slain. The enemy then, tearing down the general's tent, and seizing on all they could find, went on to the questor's quarters, and the adjoining forum called Quintana. In the questor's tent was plenty of all kinds of food ready dressed and laid out, and the couches being placed in order, their chieftain lay down, and began to feast. Presently all the rest, thinking no more of fighting or of the enemy, did the same ; and being unaccustomed to any sort of rich food, they greedily gorged themselves with meat and wine.

3. Affairs among the Romans wore a very different aspect. There was nothing but confusion, both on land and sea ; the mariners struck their tents, and hastily conveyed on board the provisions which had been sent on shore ; the soldiers in a panic pressed into the boats, and even into the water. The seamen were in fear lest their vessels should be overcrowded, so that some of them opposed the entrance of the multitude, while others pushed off into the deep. Hence arose a dispute, and in a short time a fight, not without wounds and loss of lives, both of soldiers and seamen ; until, by order of the consul, the fleet was removed to a distance from the shore. He next set about separating the armed from the unarmed ; and out of so large a number he hardly

found twelve hundred who had preserved their arms ; very few horsemen who had brought their horses with them ; while the rest formed only an irregular, ill-looking throng, like servants and sutlers, and would certainly have fallen a prey to the enemy had they thought of pursuing their advantage. At length an express was despatched to call in the third legion and the foragers ; and, at the same time, the troops began to march back from all parts in order to retake the camp, and repair their disgrace. The military tribunes of the third legion ordered their men to throw away the forage and wood, and the centurions to mount two elderly soldiers on horses from which the loads were thrown, each horseman taking a young foot-soldier behind him. He told them "it would reflect great honour on their legion if they should recover by bravery the camp which had been lost by the cowardice of the second ; and that this might be easily effected if the barbarians were surprised while busied in plundering. In like manner as they had taken it, so might it be retaken." His exhortation was received by the army with tokens of the utmost alacrity ; the standards advanced with speed, nor did the soldiers give any delay to the standard-bearers. The consul, and the troops that went back from the shore, reached the rampart first. Lucius Atius, first tribune of the second legion, not only urged on his men, but told them that, "if the Istrians meant to retain the camp which they had taken by the same arms which gave them possession of it, they would in the first place have pursued their enemy to the sea ; and, in the next place, they would certainly have stationed guards outside the rampart ; and that in all probability they were lying in sleep, or drowned in wine."

4. Saying this, he ordered his own standard-bearer, Aulus Bæculonius, a man of known bravery, to bear in the standard ; who replied, that if the men were willing to follow him, he would throw it in. Then, exerting all his strength, he threw the standard across the intrenchment, and was the first that entered the gate. At this juncture arrived, on the other side, Tiberius Ælius and Caius Ælius, military tribunes of the third legion, with their cavalry ; and, quickly after them, the soldiers whom they had mounted in pairs on the beasts of burden ; also the consul, with the main body. As to the Istrians, a few, who were not quite so much intoxicated as the rest, had sense enough left to fly : death

perpetuated the sleep of the others; and the Romans recovered all their effects unimpaired, except the victuals and wine which had been consumed. The soldiers, too, who had been left sick in the camp, when they saw their countrymen within the trenches, snatched up arms, and committed great slaughter. Caius Popilius, surnamed Sabelius, a horseman, distinguished himself on this occasion above all the rest. He had been left behind in the camp on account of a wound in his foot, notwithstanding which he did much greater execution among the enemy than any other. Eight thousand Istrians were killed, but not one prisoner taken; for rage and indignation had made the Romans regardless of booty. The king of the Istrians, though in a state of ebriety, was hastily mounted on a horse by his people, and effected his escape. Of the conquerors, there were lost two hundred and thirty-seven men; more of whom fell in the fight in the morning than in the retaking of the camp.

5. It happened that Cneius and Lucius Cavillius, with recruits lately enlisted at Aquileia, coming with a convoy of provisions, and not knowing what had passed, were very near going into the camp after it was taken by the Istrians. These men, then, leaving their baggage, and flying back to Aquileia, caused a general consternation and alarm, not only there, but, in a few days after, at Rome also; for there it was reported not only that the camp was taken, and that the troops ran away, as was really the case, but that the whole army was entirely cut off. Wherefore, as usual in cases of uncommon danger, extraordinary levies were ordered by proclamation, both in the city and throughout all Italy. Two legions of Roman citizens were raised, and the Latine allies were ordered to furnish ten thousand foot and five hundred horse. The Consul Marcus Junius was sent into Gaul, to demand from the several states of that province whatever number of troops each was able to supply. At the same time it was mentioned in the decree that Tiberius Claudius, the pretor, should issue orders for the fourth legion, and five thousand foot and two hundred and fifty horse, of the Latines, to assemble at Pisæ: that, with this force, he should guard that province during the consul's absence; and that Marcus Titinius, pretor, should order the first legion, and an equal number of allied foot and horse, to meet at Ariminum. Nero, habited in general's robes, set

out for Pisæ, the province allotted him. Titinius, sending Caius Cassius, military tribune, to Ariminum, to command the legion there, employed himself in raising soldiers in Rome. The Consul Marcus Junius (passing over from Liguria into the province of Gaul, and, as he went along, collecting auxiliaries from the Gallic states, and recruits from the colonies) came to Aquileia. There he learned that the army was safe; wherefore, after despatching a letter to Rome to put an end to the alarm, he sent home the Gallic auxiliaries, and proceeded himself to join his colleague. The unexpected news caused great joy at Rome; the levies were stopped, the soldiers who had been enlisted and sworn were discharged, and the troops at Ariminum, who were afflicted with a pestilential sickness, were remanded home. The Istrians, who with a numerous force were encamped at no great distance from the consul, when they understood that the other consul was arrived with a new army, dispersed, and returned to their several states; when the consuls led back their legions into winter-quarters at Aquileia.

6. The alarm caused by the affairs of Istria being at length composed, the senate passed an order that the consuls should settle between themselves which of them should come to Rome to preside at the elections. Two plebeian tribunes, Aulus Licinius Narva and Caius Papirius Turdus, in their harangues to the people, uttered severe reflections on Manlius, then abroad; and proposed the passing of an order, that although the government of their provinces had already been continued to the consuls for a year, yet Manlius should not hold command beyond the ides of March, in order that he might, immediately on the expiration of his office, be brought to trial. Against this proposition Quintus Ælius, another tribune, protested; and, after violent struggles, prevailed so far as to prevent its being passed. About this time Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Lucius Postumius Albinus came home from Spain. The Pretor Marcus Titinius gave them an audience of the senate in the temple of Bellona, that they might represent their services, and demand such honours as they merited, together with a thanksgiving to the immortal gods. At the same time arrived a letter from Titus Æbutius, the pretor, brought by his son to the senate, informing them of great commotions in Sardinia: that the Ilrians, having procured aid of the Balarians, had

made an inroad into the peaceable part of the province ; and that it was not possible to make head against them with a feeble army, whose numbers were greatly diminished by an epidemic sickness. Ambassadors from the Sardinians made the same representations, and besought the senate to send relief to their cities ; for as to the country, it was already entirely ruined. This embassy, and every thing relative to Sardinia, was referred to the new magistrates. An embassy from the Lycians, no less entitled to commiseration, complained of the cruel treatment which they suffered from the Rhodians, to whose government they had been annexed by Lucius Cornelius Scipio. " They had formerly," they said, " been under the dominion of Antiochus ; and their bondage under that king, compared to their present condition, appeared an honourable state of liberty : that they were not only oppressed by acts of government, but individuals underwent every suffering, as if really slaves ; that themselves, their wives, and children, were abused alike by them ; cruelties were practised on their persons, while the vilest aspersions and calumnies were cast on their character : they were openly treated with contemptuous insults, merely for the purpose of exercising a usurped prerogative, and to show that no distinction was made between them and purchased slaves." The senate was highly displeased at such proceedings, and gave the Lycians a letter to the Rhodians, acquainting them that " it was the will of the senate that neither the Lycians should be subjected to the Rhodians as slaves, nor any other free-born people be reduced to such a state ; but that the Lycians should be under the government, and, at the same time, the protection, of the Rhodians, in like manner as the allied states were subjected to the Roman people."

7. Two triumphs, for conquests in Spain, were then successively celebrated. First, Sempronius Gracchus triumphed over the Celtiberians and their allies ; next day, Lucius Postumius, over the Lusitanians and the other Spaniards in that quarter. Tiberius Gracchus carried in the procession twenty thousand pounds' weight of silver ; Albinus forty thousand. They distributed to each of their soldiers twenty-five denariuses,* double to a centurion, triple to a horse-

* 16s. 1½d.

man ; the same sums to the allied troops as to the Roman. The Consul Marcus Junius happened to arrive at Rome at this time from Istria, in order to hold the elections. The plebeian tribunes, Papirius and Licinius, after harassing him in the senate with questions relative to what had passed in Istria, brought him into the assembly of the people. To their inquiries the consul answered, that "he had been not more than eleven days in that province ; and that, as to what had happened when he was not present, his information, like their own, rested on report." But they still proceeded to ask, "Why, then, did not Manlius rather come to Rome, that he might account to the Roman people for his having quitted Gaul, the province allotted to him, and gone into Istria ? When had the senate decreed a war with that nation ? When had the people ordered it ? But he will say, 'Though the war was indeed undertaken by private authority, yet it was conducted with prudence and courage.' On the contrary, it is impossible to say whether the impropriety in undertaking it, or the misconduct in the carrying it on, was greater. Two advanced guards were surprised by the Istrians ; a Roman camp was taken, with whatever infantry and cavalry were in it ; the rest, in disorder, without arms, and among the foremost the consul himself, fled to the shore and the ships. But he should answer for all these matters when he became a private citizen, since he had avoided it while consul."

8. The elections were then held, in which Caius Claudius Pulcher and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus were chosen consuls. Next day the following persons were elected pre-tors : Publius Ælius Tubero, a second time, Caius Quintus Flaminius, Caius Numisius, Lucius Mummius, Cneius Cornelius Scipio, and Publius Valerius Lævinus. The city jurisdiction fell by lot to Tubero ; the foreign, to Quintus ; Sicily, to Numisius ; and Sardinia, to Mummius : but this last, on account of the importance of the war there, was made a consular province, and bestowed on Gracchus. The lots gave Istria to Claudius ; and Gaul, divided into two provinces, to Scipio and Lævinus. On the ides of March [A. U. C. 575. B. C. 177], the day when Sempronius and Claudius assumed the administration, a cursory mention only was made of the provinces of Sardinia and of Istria, and of those who had commenced hostilities there ; but on the day

following the ambassadors of the Sardinians, who had been referred to the new magistrates, were introduced, and Lucius Manucius Thermus, lieutenant-general under the Consul Manlius in Istria, attended; and from them the senate learned the real state of the war in those provinces. The attention of the senate was also attracted by ambassadors from the confederate states of Latium, who, after having ineffectually applied to the former consuls and censors, were at last introduced to an audience. They came with complaints, the amount of which was, that "their citizens, having been rated in the general survey at Rome, had most of them removed thither, and that, if this practice were allowed, it would come to pass, in the course of a very few lustrums, that their towns, and even their country, would be so deserted as to be unable to furnish any soldiers." The Samnites and the Pelignians also represented that four thousand families had emigrated to Fregellæ; and that in the levying of soldiers their quota was not lessened, nor that of the others increased on this account: that there had been practised two species of fraud in the method of an individual quitting one state to become a member of another: there was a law, which granted liberty to any of the allies or Latines who should not leave his offspring at home, to be enrolled a citizen of Rome; yet, by a perversion of this law, some did injury to the allies, others to the Roman people: for, first, to evade the leaving offspring at home, they made over their children as slaves to some Roman, under an agreement that they should be again set free, and thus become citizens by emancipation; and then those men, who had now no children to leave, became Roman citizens. Afterward, they neglected even these appearances of conformity to law; and, without any regard either to the ordinances or to progeny, passed indiscriminately into the Roman state by migration, getting themselves included in the survey. To prevent such proceedings in future, the ambassadors requested the senate to order the allies to return to their respective states, and to provide by a law that no one should acquire a property in any man's person, or alienate such property for the purpose of that man's enfranchisement, in any other state than his own; and that if any person should by such means be made a citizen of Rome, he should not enjoy the rights of a citizen.

9. The senate granted their petitions, and then proceeded on the business of Sardinia and Istria, the provinces which were in a state of war. It was ordered that two legions should be raised for Sardinia, each containing five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse; and the allies and Latines, twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse; and that the consul should take ten ships, of five banks of oars, out of any docks he chose. The same numbers of infantry and cavalry were decreed for Istria as for Sardinia. The consuls were ordered to send into Spain, to Marcus Titinius, one legion, with three hundred horse, and five thousand foot and three hundred horse of the allies. Before the consuls cast lots for their provinces several prodigies were reported: that, in the Crustumine territory, a stone fell from the sky into the grove of Mars; that, in the Roman territory, a boy was born defective in his limbs; that a serpent with four feet had been seen; that at Capua many buildings in the forum were struck by lightning; and, at Puteoli, two ships were burnt by lightning. While these prodigies were reported from abroad, one happened in Rome itself; for a wolf, having come in through the Colline gate in the middle of the day, was for a long time driven about through the city, and at length, though pursued by great multitudes, escaped through the Esquiline. On account of these prodigies the consuls sacrificed victims of the larger kinds; and there was a supplication for one day at all the shrines. When the sacrifices were duly performed, they cast lots for their provinces; when Istria fell to Claudius, Sardinia to Sempronius. Then Caius Claudius, by direction of the senate, procured a law to be passed respecting the allies, and issued a proclamation, that "any of the allies and Latine confederates who themselves, or whose ancestors, had been surveyed among the associated states of Latium in the censorship of Marcus Claudius and Titus Quintius, or at any time since, should all return, each to his respective state, before the calends of November." Lucius Mummius, the pretor, was commissioned to make inquiry concerning such as did not obey. To the law and the proclamation of the consul was added a decree of the senate, that "the dictator, consul, interrex, censor, or pretor for the time being, before whom any slave should be brought to receive manumission, should cause the said slave so to be discharged, to make oath

that the person giving him liberty did not do it for the purpose of his being admitted a citizen of any state of which he was not already a member ;" and any one refusing this oath, the decree ordered, should not be manumitted. The cognizance and jurisdiction in this business, for the future, were assigned to Caius Claudius the consul.

10. While these matters passed at Rome, Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, the consuls of the preceding year, after remaining during winter at Aquileia, led their army early in the spring into the Istrian territories, and spread their depredations through a great part of the country ; on which the Istrians, rather out of grief and indignation at seeing their property plundered than from any well-grounded hope of being able to make head against these joint forces, flew to arms. They hastily assembled their young men, who ran together from all their cantons ; and this raw and tumultuary army made its first onset with more vigour than it was able steadily to support. Four thousand of them were slain in the field ; and the rest, renouncing all thoughts of farther opposition, dispersed and fled to their homes. Soon after they sent ambassadors to the Roman camp to sue for peace, and then delivered up the hostages required of them. When these transactions were made known at Rome, by letters from the proconsul, Caius Claudius, the consul, began to fear that this proceeding might perhaps take the province and the army out of his hands ; and therefore, without offering vows, without assuming the military habit, and unaccompanied by his lictors, having acquainted his colleague alone with his intention, he set out in the night, and with the utmost speed hastened to the province, where he conducted himself even with less prudence than he had shown in coming : for, in an assembly which he called, after making severe remarks on Manlius's running away from the camp, which were very offensive to the ears of the soldiers, as they themselves had begun the flight, and after railing at Marcus Junius as having made himself a sharer in the disgrace of his colleague, he at last ordered both of them to quit the province. They replied, that when the consul should come in the regular manner, agreeably to ancient practice ; when he should set out from the city, after offering vows in the capitol, attended by his lictors, and dressed in the military habit, then they would obey his orders. This threw him into such a furious rage

that he called the person who acted as questor to Manlius, and ordered him to bring fetters, threatening to send Junius and Manlius to Rome in chains. This man, too, slighted the consul's command; and the surrounding crowd of soldiers, who favoured the cause of their commanders, and were incensed against Claudius, supplied him with resolution to refuse obedience. At last the consul, overpowered by the reproaches of individuals and the scoffs of the multitude, for they even turned him into ridicule, went back to Aquileia in the ship that had brought him. From thence he wrote to his colleague, desiring him to give notice to that part of the new-raised troops who were enlisted for Istria to assemble at Aquileia, in order that he should have no delay at Rome, but set out, as soon as the ceremony of offering vows was finished, in the military habit. These directions his colleague punctually executed, and a short day was appointed for the assembling of the troops. Claudius almost overtook his own letter. On his arrival he called an assembly, that he might represent the conduct of Manlius and Junius; and, staying only three days in Rome, he offered his vows in the capitol, put on the military habit, and, attended by his lictors, set out to his province with the same rapid speed which he had used in the former journey.

11. A few days before his arrival, Junius and Manlius had laid vigorous siege to the town of Nesatium, in which the principal Istrians, and Epulo their king, had shut themselves up. Claudius, bringing thither the two new legions, dismissed the old army, with its commanders, invested the town himself, and prosecuted the siege with regular works. A river which flowed on the outside of the wall, and greatly impeded the proceedings of the besiegers, while it supplied the besieged with a convenience of water, he, with many days' labour, turned out of its course and conveyed away in another channel. This event of the water being cut off terrified the barbarians, as if effected by some supernatural power; yet still they entertained no thoughts of peace, but set about killing their wives and children, exhibiting a spectacle shocking even to their enemies; and, after putting them to death in open view on the walls, tumbled them down. During this horrid carnage, the soldiers, scaling the walls, effected an entrance into the town. As soon as their king heard the uproar, and understood, from the cries of ter-

ror uttered by the flying inhabitants, that the place was captured, he plunged his sword into his breast, that he might not be taken alive; the rest were either killed or made prisoners. After this two other towns, Mutila and Faveria, were stormed and destroyed. The booty, which exceeded expectation, considering the poverty of the nation, was all given up to the soldiers. Five thousand six hundred and thirty-two persons were sold by auction, and the fomenters of the war were beaten with rods and beheaded. By the destruction of these three towns, and the death of the king, the whole country of Istria was brought to terms of peace; every one of its states giving hostages, and submitting to the dominion of the Romans.

12. For some time before the conclusion of the war of Istria, the Ligurians had begun to hold consultations about the renewal of hostilities. Tiberius Claudius, proconsul, who had been consul the year before, at the head of one legion posted at Pisæ, held the government of that province. He gave information to the senate by letter of their proceedings, and they ordered that "the same letter should be carried to Caius Claudius," for Gracchus had already crossed over into Sardinia; and they added a decree that, peace being established in the province of Istria, he should, if he thought proper, lead his army into Liguria. At the same time a supplication for two days was decreed, in consequence of the account given by the consul in his letter, of his services performed in Istria. The other consul, Sempronius, likewise was successful in his operations in Sardinia. He carried his army into the territory of the Ilian tribe of Sardinians, who had received a powerful re-enforcement from the Balarians. He fought a pitched battle against the combined forces of the two states, defeated and put them to flight, and made himself master of their camp, having killed twelve thousand of their men. Next day the consul ordered their arms to be gathered into a heap and burnt, as an offering to Vulcan. He then led back his victorious troops into winter quarters in the allied cities. Caius Claudius, on receipt of the letter of Tiberius Claudius, and the decree of the senate, marched his legions out of Istria into Liguria. The enemy, having advanced into the plains, were encamped on the river Scultenna: here a pitched battle was fought, in which fifteen thousand of the enemy were killed, and about seven hundred

captured in the fight and in the camp, for that too was stormed, and also fifty-one military standards were taken. The Ligurians who survived fled back into the mountains; the consul ravaged all the low country, but met nowhere any appearance of arms. Claudius having thus in one year subdued two nations, and, what has rarely been achieved in a single consulate, completed the reduction of two provinces, came home to Rome.

13. Several prodigies were reported this year: that at Crustumium a kind of vulture, which they call the Blood-sucker, cut a sacred stone with its beak; that a cow spoke in Campania; that at Syracuse, a brazen statue of a cow was mounted by a farmer's bull which had strayed from the herd. A supplication of one day was performed in Crustumium on the spot; the cow at Campania was ordered to be maintained at the public expense; and the prodigy at Syracuse was expiated according to directions given by the aruspices respecting the deities to whom supplications should be offered. This year died, in the office of pontiff, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, who had been consul and censor; and his son, Marcus Marcellus, was chosen into the vacant place. The same year a colony of two thousand Roman citizens was settled at Luna, under the care of Publius Ælius, Lucius Egilius, and Cneius Sicinius, who allotted to each fifty-one acres and a half of land. This land had been taken from the Ligurians, and had been the property of the Etrurians before it fell into their possession. Caius Claudius, consul, arrived at the city, and after laying before the senate a detail of his successful services in Istria and Liguria, demanded a triumph, which was granted. He triumphed in office over the two nations at once. In this procession he carried three hundred and seven thousand denariuses,* and eighty-five thousand seven hundred and two quinariuses.† To each soldier he gave fifteen denariuses,‡ double to a centurian, triple to a horseman. The allied soldiers received less by half than the native troops, for which reason they followed his chariot in silence to show their disgust.

14. While this triumph over the Ligurians was celebrated, that people, perceiving that not only the consular army returned to Rome, but also that the legion at Pisa had been

* 9914l. 0s. 10d.

† 1325l. 12s. 1d.

‡ 9s. 8d.

disbanded by Tiberius Claudius, laid aside their fears, and, collecting an army, secretly crossed the mountains by winding paths, and came down into the plains; where, after ravaging the lands of Mutina, by a sudden assault they gained possession of the city itself. When an account of this was brought to Rome, the senate ordered Caius Claudius, the consul, to hold the elections as soon as possible, and (after appointing magistrates for the ensuing year) to go back to his province, and rescue the colony out of the hands of the enemy. The elections were held as the senate had directed; and Cneius Cornelius Scipio Hispalus, with Quintus Petillius Spurius, were chosen consuls. Then were elected pretors, Marcus Popillius Lænas, Publius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Cornelius Scipio, Lucius Papirius Maso, Marcus Aburius, and Lucius Aquilius Gallus. Caius Claudius, consul, was continued in command for a year in the province of Gaul; and he was ordered, lest the Istrians should follow the example of the Ligurians, to send into Istria the allied Latine troops which he had brought home to attend his triumph. When the consuls Cneius Cornelius and Quintus Petillius, on the day of entering into office [A. U. C. 576. B. C. 176], sacrificed each an ox to Jupiter, according to custom, the head of the liver was not found in the victim sacrificed by Petillius; which being reported to the senate, he was ordered to sacrifice other oxen until he should find the omens favourable. The senate then proceeded to the disposal of the provinces, when Pisæ and Liguria were decreed to the consuls. It was further decreed that he to whose lot Pisæ fell, should at the time of the elections come home to preside at them; and that they should severally enlist two new legions, and three hundred horse; and should order the allies and Latine confederates to furnish ten thousand foot and six hundred horse to each. Tiberius Claudius was continued in command until such time as the consul should arrive in the province.

15. While the senate was employed in these affairs, Caius Cornelius, being called by a messenger, went out of the senate-house; and, after a short time, returned with a troubled countenance, and told the conscript fathers that the liver of a fat ox which he had sacrificed had melted away: that when this was told to him by the person who dressed the victims, he did not believe it, but went himself, and ordered

the water to be poured out of the vessel in which the entrails were boiled, when he saw all entire but the liver, which had been unaccountably consumed. While the fathers were under much terror on account of this prodigy, their alarm was augmented by the other consul, who informed them that, on account of the first victim having wanted the head of the liver, he had sacrificed three oxen, and had not yet found favourable omens. The senate ordered him to continue sacrificing the larger victims until he should find the desired tokens. It is said that the victims offered to the other deities at length presented good omens; but that in those offered to Health, Petillius could find none such. Then the consuls and pretors cast lots for their provinces, when *Pisæ* fell to *Cneius Cornelius*; *Liguria* to *Petillius*. Of the pretors, *Lucius Papirius Maso* obtained the city jurisdiction; *Marcus Æbutius*, the foreign; *Marcus Cornelius Scipio Maluginensis*, the Farther Spain; *Lucius Aquilius Gallus*, Sicily. Two of them petitioned to be excused from going into their provinces. First, *Marcus Popillius* requested he might not be obliged to go to *Sardinia*, alleging that "Gracchus was bringing that province into a state of tranquillity; that the senate had assigned him the Pretor *Titus Æbutius* as an assistant; and that it was by no means expedient to interrupt the train of business, for the completion of which there was no method so efficacious as the continuing the management in the same hands: for, between the transferring of the command and the successor coming (a stranger to the business of the province), it often happened that very favourable opportunities were lost." The excuse of *Popillius* was admitted. Then *Publius Licinius Bassus* alleged that he was prevented from going into his province by solemn sacrifices necessary to be performed. That which had fallen to his lot was the *Hither Spain*: but he was ordered either to proceed thither, or to swear in the public assembly that he was hindered by the performance of solemn anniversary sacrifices. When this determination was made in the case of *Publius Licinius*, *Marcus Cornelius* demanded that his oath, of the like import, might be admitted as an excuse for his not going into the *Farther Spain*. Both the pretors accordingly took an oath in the same words. It was ordered that *Marcus Titinius* and *Titus Fonteius*, pro-consuls, should remain in *Spain*, with authority as before; and

that a re-enforcement should be sent to them, of three thousand Roman foot with three hundred horse, and five hundred Latine foot with three hundred horse.

16. The Latine festival was celebrated on the third day before the nones of May;* and because, on the offering of one of the victims, the magistrate had not prayed for the Roman people, the Quirites, a scruple arose concerning the validity of the performance. The matter being laid before the senate, and referred by them to the college of pontiffs, the latter determined that the Latine festival had not been duly performed, and must be repeated; and that the Lanuvians, who had given cause for the repetition, should furnish the victims. Besides the concern excited by matters of a religious nature, another incident caused no small degree of uneasiness. The Consul Cneius Cornelius, as he was returning from the Alban mount, fell down and lost the use of one half of his limbs: he was carried to the waters of Cumæ, where, his disorder still increasing, he died. His body was conveyed to Rome to be buried, and the funeral obsequies were performed with great magnificence: he was likewise a pontiff. The other consul, Quintus Petillius, was ordered to hold an assembly as soon as the auspices could be taken, for the election of a consul in the room of his late colleague, and to proclaim the Latine festival. Accordingly, by proclamation, he fixed the election for the third day before the nones of August,† and the Latine festival for the third before the ides of the same month.‡ While people's minds were much troubled from the apprehension of the displeasure of the gods, to add thereto, several prodigies were reported to have happened: that a blazing torch was seen in the sky at Tusculum; that the temple of Apollo, and many private buildings at Gabii, and a wall and gate at Graviacæ, were struck by lightning. The senate ordered these to be expiated as the pontiffs should direct. While the consuls were detained, at first by religious ceremonies, and afterward, one of them by the death of the other, and then by the election and the repetition of the Latine festival, Caius Claudius marched the army to Mutina, which the Ligurians had taken the year before. Within three days from the commencement of the siege he retook it, and delivered it back to the

* May 5.

† August 3.

‡ August 11.

colonists: on this occasion eight thousand Ligurians were killed within the walls. He immediately despatched a letter to Rome, in which he not only represented this success, but likewise boasted that, through his good conduct and good fortune, there was not one enemy of the Roman people left on this side of the Alps; and that a large tract of land had been taken, sufficient, if distributed in shares, for the accommodation of many thousand people.

17. During the same period, Tiberius Sempronius, after gaining many victories, and killing fifteen thousand of the enemy, totally subdued the people of Sardinia, and reduced under the Roman dominion every state in the island that had revolted. On those which had formerly been tributary, double taxes were imposed and levied; the rest paid a contribution in corn. When he had thus restored peace in the province, and received hostages from all parts of the island, to the number of two hundred and thirty, he sent deputies to Rome, to give information of these transactions, and to request of the senate, that in consideration of those services, performed under the conduct and auspices of Tiberius Sempronius, a thanksgiving might be offered to the immortal gods, and permission granted him to quit the province and bring home the army with him. The senate gave audience to the deputies in the temple of Apollo, ordered a thanksgiving for two days, and that the consuls should sacrifice forty victims of the larger kinds; but commanded the proconsul, Tiberius Sempronius, and his army, to continue in the province for the year. Then the election for filling the vacant place of a consul, which had been fixed by proclamation for the third day before the nones of August, was finished in one day; and the Consul Quintus Petillius declared Caius Valerius Lævinus duly elected his colleague, who was to assume immediately the administration of his office. This man had been long ambitious of the government of a province, and, very seasonably for the gratification of his wishes, a letter now arrived with intelligence that the Ligurians were again in arms. Wherefore, on the nones of August,* he assumed the military habit; and ordered that, on account of this alarm, the third legion should march into Gaul, and join Caius Claudius, proconsul; and that the

* August 5.

commanders of the fleet should sail with their ships to Pisa, and coast along the Ligurian shore, to terrify that people by the sight of a naval power also. The other consul, Quintus Petillius, had appointed a day for his troops to assemble in the same place. On the other hand, Caius Claudius, proconsul, on hearing of the rebellion in Liguria, hastily collected some soldiers, in addition to those whom he had with him at Parma, and with this force marched to the frontiers of Liguria.

18. On the approach of Caius Claudius, the enemy, reflecting that this was the same commander who had defeated them at the river Scultenna, resolved to rely on situation rather than arms for their defence against a force with which they had so unsuccessfully struggled. With this design they took post in two mountains, called Lethum and Balista ; and, for greater security, they surrounded their encampment with a wall. Some, who were too slow in removing from the low grounds, were surprised and put to the sword,—one thousand five hundred in number. The others kept themselves close on the mountains ; and retaining, in the midst of their fears, their native savage disposition, vented their fury on the prey taken at Mutina. The prisoners they mangled in a shocking manner, and put to death : the cattle they butchered in the temples rather than decently sacrificed : and then (satiated with the destruction of living creatures) they turned their fury against things inanimate, dashing against the walls even vessels made for use rather than for show. Quintus Petillius, the consul, fearing that the war might be brought to a conclusion before he arrived in the province, wrote to Caius Claudius to bring the army into Gaul, saying that he would wait for him at the Long Plains. Claudius, immediately on receipt of the letter, marched out of Liguria, and at the appointed place gave up the command of the army to the consul. To these plains came, in a few days after, the other consul, Caius Valerius. Here they agreed on a division of their forces ; but before they separated both together performed a purification of the troops. They then cast lots for their routes, it having been resolved that they should not assail the enemy on the same side. Valerius clearly performed his part of the ceremony with propriety ; but with regard to Petillius, as the augurs afterward pronounced, the procedure was faulty, for he was not in the

consecrated place when he put his lot into the urn which was afterward carried in. They then began their march in different directions ; Petillius led his troops against the ridge of Balista and Lethum, which joined the two together with one continued range, and encamped at the foot of it. We are told that, while he was here encouraging his soldiers, whom he had assembled for the purpose, without reflecting on the ambiguity of the word, he uttered this ominous expression : " Before night I will have Lethum."* He made his troops march up the mountain in two places at the same time. The division where he commanded in person advanced briskly : the other was repulsed by the enemy ; and the consul, riding up thither to remedy the disorder, rallied indeed his troops ; but, exposing himself too carelessly in the front, was pierced through with a javelin and fell. The commanders of the enemy did not know that he was killed ; and the few of his own party who saw the disaster carefully covered the body from view, knowing that on the concealment of what had happened the victory depended. The rest of the troops, horse and foot, though deprived of their leader, dislodged the enemy and took possession of the mountains. Five thousand of the Ligurians were slain, and of the Roman army only fifty-two were lost. Besides this evident completion of the unhappy omen, the keeper of the chickens was heard to say that there had been a defect in the auspices, and that the consul was not ignorant of it. Caius Valerius [when he was informed of the death of Quintus Petillius, made the army thus bereft of its commander join his own ; then, attacking the enemy again, he shed copious streams of their blood to appease the shade of his departed colleague. He had the honour of a triumph over the Ligurians. The legion at whose head the consul was killed was severely punished by the senate : this year's pay was stopped, and that campaign was not allowed in their number, for not exposing themselves to the enemy's weapons in defence of their commander. About this time ambassadors came to Rome from the Dardanians, who were greatly distressed by the numerous army of Bastarnians, under Clondicus, mentioned above. These ambassadors, after describing the vast multitude of the

* Lethum, the name of the place, in the Latin language, signifies death.

Bastarnians, their tall and huge bodies, and their daring intrepidity in facing danger, added that there was an alliance between them and Perseus, and that the Dardanians were really more afraid of him than even of the Bastarnians; and therefore begged of the senate to send them assistance. The senate thereon agreed that ambassadors should be sent to examine into the affairs of Macedonia; and Aulus Postumius was immediately commissioned to go thither. The colleagues joined with him were some young men, that he might have the principal direction and management of the embassy. The senate then took into consideration the election of magistrates for the ensuing year, on which subject there was a long debate; for] people skilled in the rules of religion and politics affirmed that, as the regular consuls of the year had died, one by the sword, the other by sickness, the substituted consul was not qualified to hold the elections. [An interregnum therefore took place, and the interrex elected consuls Publius Mucius Scævola and Marcus Æmilius Lepidus a second time. Then were chosen pretors Caius Popillius Lænas, Titus Annius Luscus, Caius Memmius Gallus, Caius Cluvius Saxula, Servius Cornelius Sulla, and Appius Claudius Centho. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. Of the pretorian provinces, Sardinia fell to Cornelius Sulla, and Hither Spain to Claudius Centho; but how the rest were distributed is not known. There was a great mortality of cattle this year. The Ligurians, a nation ever vanquished, yet ever rebelling, ravaged the lands of Luna and Pisæ; and, at the same time, there were alarming rumours of disturbances in Gaul. Lepidus easily quelled the commotions among the Gauls, and then marched into Liguria. Several states of this country submitted themselves to his disposal; and he, supposing that the rugged face of the mountains which they inhabited contributed to the ferocity of their tempers, followed the example of some former consuls, and brought them] down into the plains. Of these the Garulians, Lopicinians, and Herqatians, had lived on the hither side of the Apennine, and the Brincatians on the farther side.

19. On the hither side of the river Audena, Quintus Mucius made war on those who had wasted the lands of Luna and Pisæ, reduced them all to subjection, and stripped them of their arms. On account of these services, performed un-

der the conduct and auspices of the two consuls, the senate voted a thanksgiving for three days, and sacrifices of forty victims. The commotions which broke out in Gaul and Liguria at the beginning of this year were thus speedily suppressed, without any great difficulty; but the apprehensions of the public respecting a war with Macedonia still continued, for Perseus laboured to embroil the Bastarnians with the Dardanians; and the ambassadors sent to examine into the state of affairs in Macedonia returned to Rome, and brought certain information that hostilities had commenced in Dardania. At the same time came envoys from King Perseus, with assurances that he had neither invited the Bastarnians nor countenanced any of their proceedings. The senate neither acquitted the king of the imputation, nor urged it against him; they only ordered warning to be given him to be very careful to show that he considered the treaty between him and the Romans as inviolable. The Dardanians, perceiving that the Bastarnians, so far from quitting their country, as they had hoped, became daily more troublesome, as they were supported by the neighbouring Thracians and Scordiscians, thought it necessary to make some effort against them, though without any reasonable prospect of success. Accordingly they assembled together in arms from all quarters, at the town that was nearest to the camp of the Bastarnians. It was now winter, and they chose that season of the year, as supposing that the Thracians and Scordiscians would return to their own countries. As soon as they heard that these were gone, and the Bastarnians left by themselves, they divided their forces into two parts, that one might march openly along the straight road to attack the enemy; and that the other, going round through a wood, which lay out of sight, might assault them on the rear. But, before these could arrive at the enemy's post, the fight commenced, and the Dardanians were beaten and pursued to the town, which was about twelve miles from the Bastarnian camp. The victors immediately invested the place, not doubting that on the day following either the enemy would surrender it, or they might take it by storm. Meanwhile the other body of Dardanians, which had gone round, not having heard of the defeat of their countrymen, [easily] possessed themselves of the camp of the Bastarnians, which had been left without a

guard. [The Bastarnians, thus deprived of all their provisions and warlike stores, and having no means of replacing them in a hostile country, and at that unfavourable season, resolved to return to their native home. When they arrived at the Danube they found it, to their great joy, covered with ice so thick as to seem capable of sustaining any weight. But, when it came to be pressed under the immense weight of the whole body of men and cattle, crowding together in their haste, after supporting the burden for a long time, it suddenly split into numberless pieces, and plunged the entire multitude in the deep. The greatest part were instantly swallowed up; many, striving to swim out, were sunk by the fragments of the ice, and a very few escaped to either bank, none without being severely cut or bruised. About this time Antiochus, son to Antiochus the Great, who had been for a long time a hostage at Rome, came into possession of the kingdom of Syria, on the death of his brother Seleucus: for Seleucus, whom the Greeks call Philopator, having received the kingdom of Syria greatly debilitated by the misfortunes of his father, during a reign of twelve years never distinguished himself by any memorable enterprise; and at this time called home from Rome this his younger brother, sending in his stead his own son Demetrius, according to the terms of the treaty, which allowed the changing of the hostages from time to time. Antiochus had but just reached Athens on his way when Seleucus was murdered, in consequence of a conspiracy formed by Heliodorus, one of the nobles. This man aimed at the crown for himself, but was obliged to fly by Attalus and Eumenes, who put Antiochus in possession of it, expecting great advantages to themselves from having him bound to them in gratitude for a service so important. They now began to harbour some jealousy of the Romans, on account of several trifling causes of disgust. Antiochus was received by the people with such transports of joy, that they gave him the surname of Epiphanes, or Rising Star; because, when aliens to the royal blood were about to seize the throne, he appeared like a propitious star, to assert his hereditary right. He was not deficient in capacity or vigour of mind to make a figure in war; but such perversity and indiscretion prevailed in his whole conduct and behaviour, that they soon changed the surname which they had given him, and, instead of Epiph-

anes, called him Epimanes, or Madman; for many were the acts of folly or madness which he committed. He used frequently to go out without the knowledge of any of his servants, clad in garments embroidered with gold; at one time to annoy the passengers by throwing stones at them; at another, to amuse himself by flinging handfuls of money among the crowd, to be scrambled for. He allowed himself to commit the most egregious follies and the vilest indecencies in common tippling-houses, and in the public baths; drinking with strangers, and mingling with the lowest of the people. Among many other instances of his folly, it is mentioned that he used to lay aside his royal robes, and put on a gown, as he had seen the candidates for office do at Rome, and then go about the forum saluting and embracing each of the plebeians; soliciting at one time for the edileship, at another for the plebeian tribuneship, until at last he obtained the office by the suffrages of the people; and then, according to the Roman] custom, he took his seat in an ivory chair, where he heard causes, and listened to debates on the most trivial matters.

20. He never thought of adhering to any rule, but rambled incessantly, adopting by turns every kind of behaviour, inso-much that no one could judge with certainty as to his real character. Sometimes he would not speak to his friends, nor scarcely afford a smile to his acquaintance. By a preposterous kind of liberality, he made himself and others subjects of ridicule; for to some, in the most elevated stations, and who thought highly of themselves, he would give childish presents of sweetmeats, cakes, or toys; while on others, who, having no claims, expected nothing, he would bestow large sums of money. Wherefore to many he appeared not to know what he was doing: some said that he acted from a silly, sportive temper; others, that he was evidently mad. In two great and honourable instances, however, he showed a spirit truly royal,—in the presents which he made to several cities, and the honour he paid to the gods. To the inhabitants of Megalopolis, in Arcadia, he made a promise to build a wall round their city, and he gave them the greater part of the money requisite for that purpose. At Tegea he began to erect a magnificent theatre of marble. At Cyzicum, he presented a set of golden utensils for the service of one table in the Prytaneum, the state-room of the city,

where such as are entitled to that honour dine together. To the Rhodians he gave presents of every kind that their convenience required, but none very remarkable. Of the magnificence of his notions in every thing respecting the gods, the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens was of itself a sufficient testimony ; being the only one in the world, the plan of which was suitable to the greatness of the deity. He likewise ornamented Delos with altars of extraordinary beauty and abundance of statues. A magnificent temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he promised to build at Antioch, of which not only the ceilings, but all the walls, were to be covered with plates of gold, and many other edifices which he intended in various places, he did not finish, as his reign was short. His magnificence in the exhibition of public shows also surpassed that of all former kings, both by their uncommon splendour, usual in his own kingdom, and by the great number of Grecian performers. He gave a show of gladiators in the Roman manner, which, at first, among a people unaccustomed to such sights, caused more terror than pleasure ; but by frequently repeating them, sometimes permitting the combatants to go no farther than wounds, at other times to proceed to extremities, he rendered such kind of shows not only familiar to people's eyes, but even agreeable, and kindled in the young men a passion for arms ; insomuch that, although at the beginning he was obliged to entice gladiators from Rome by high rewards, [he soon found a sufficient number in his own dominions willing to perform for a moderate hire. The shows which he exhibited formed in every respect a perfect contrast to his own character, which was a compound of every thing that was absurd and trifling : nothing could be more magnificent than these were ; nothing more vile and contemptible than the king himself. To return, however, to the Roman affairs, from which the mention of this king has caused us to digress too far. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, after holding the government of Sardinia two years, resigned it to Servius Cornelius Sulla, the pretor, and, coming home to Rome, triumphed over the Sardinians. We are told that he brought such a multitude of captives from that island, that from the long continuance of the sale, "Sardinians for sale" became a vulgar proverb, to denote things of little price. Both the consuls (Scevela and Lepidus) triumphed over the Ligu-

rians; Lepidus over the Gauls also. Then were held the elections of magistrates for the ensuing year. Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Mucius Scaevola were chosen consuls. In the election of pretors there happened a particular competition between Lucius or Cneius Cornelius Scipio, son of Publius Africanus, and Caius Cicereius, who had been his father's secretary: for, after five pretors had been declared, Caius Cassius Longinus, Publius Furius Philus, Lucius Claudius Asellus, Marcus Atilius Serranus, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio; although Scipio struggled hard to be admitted even in the last place, yet he was thought to have degenerated so far from the virtues of his father, that every one of the centuries would have given the preference to Cicereius, had not the latter, with singular modesty, withdrawn himself. He could not reconcile it to himself, that in a disputed election he should gain the victory over the son of his patron; but immediately throwing off the white gown, he became, from a competitor sure of success, the grateful friend and supporter of the interest of his rival. Thus, by the help of Cicereius, Scipio obtained a post which he would never have procured from the people, and which reflected greater honour on Cicereius than on himself.

21. The provinces assigned to the consuls were Gaul and Liguria. On the pretors casting lots, the city jurisdiction fell to Caius Cassius Longinus, and the foreign to Lucius Cornelius Scipio. The province of Sardinia fell to Marcus Atilius, who was ordered to sail over to Corsica with a new legion, raised by the consuls, consisting of five thousand foot and three hundred horse; and while he was engaged in carrying on the war there, Cornelius was continued in command, that he might hold the government of Sardinia. To Cneius Servilius Cæpio, for the service of the Farther Spain, and to Publius Furius Philus for that of the Hither Spain, were assigned—to each, three thousand Roman foot with one hundred and fifty horse, and five thousand Latine foot with three hundred horse. Sicily was decreed to Lucius Claudius, without any re-enforcement. The consuls were ordered to levy two more legions of the regular numbers in foot and horse, and to call on the allies for ten thousand foot and six hundred horse: but they met great difficulty in making the levies; for the pestilence which the year before had fallen on the cattle, in the present year

attacked the human species: Such as were seized by it seldom survived the seventh day; those who did survive lingered under a tedious disorder, which generally turned to a quartan ague. The mortality was greatest among the slaves, of whom heaps lay unburied on all the roads. Nor were there conductors of funerals sufficient to bury even the people of free condition. The bodies were consumed by putrefaction, without being touched by the dogs or vultures; and it was universally observed that, during that and the preceding year, while the mortality of cattle and men was so great, no vultures were anywhere to be seen. Of the public priests, there died by this contagion Cneius Servilius Cæpio, father of the pretor, a pontiff; Tiberius Sempronius Longus, son of Tiberius, decemvir of religious rites; Publius Ælius Pætus, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, augurs; Caius Mamilius Vitulus, chief curio; and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus, a pontiff. In the vacant places of pontiffs* were chosen Caius Sulpicius Galba, in the room of Tuditanus. New augurs were appointed, Titus Veturius Gracchus Sempronianus, in place of Gracchus; and Quintus Ælius Pætus, in place of Publius Ælius. Caius Sempronius Longus was made decemvir of religious rites, and Caius Scribonius Curio chief curio. The plague continuing, the senate voted that the decemvirs should consult the Sibylline books; and, by their directions, a supplication of one day was performed; and the people assembled in the forum made a vow, in words dictated by Quintus Marcius Philippus, that "if the sickness and pestilence should be removed out of the Roman territory, they would solemnize a festival and thanksgiving of two days' continuance." In the district of Veii, a boy was born with two heads; at Sinuessa, one with a single hand; and at Oximum, a girl with teeth; in the middle of the day, the sky being perfectly clear, a rainbow was seen, stretching over the temple of Saturn, in the Roman forum, and three suns shone at once; and, the following night, many lights were seen gliding through the air about Lanuvium. The people of Cære affirmed that there had appeared in their town a snake with a mane, having its body marked with spots like gold; and it was fully proved that an ox had spoken in Campania.

* So in the original; the name of the person who was chosen in the room of Cæpio being lost.

22. On the nones of June* the ambassadors returned from Africa. They had first waited on King Masinissa; whence they proceeded to Carthage; but they received much more certain information respecting the proceedings in that city from the king than from the Carthaginians themselves. They said they had sufficient proof that ambassadors had come from King Perseus, and that the senate had given them audience by night in the temple of Æsculapius; and the king asserted that the Carthaginians had sent ambassadors to Macedonia, which they themselves did not positively deny. The senate hereon resolved to send an embassy to Macedonia. They made choice of Caius Lælius, Marcus Valerius Messala, and Sextus Digitius, who accordingly proceeded thither. About this time, Perseus, in order to chastise some of the Dolopians who were refractory, and insisted on the matters in dispute being determined by the Romans and not by the king, marched an army into their country, and reduced the whole nation under his jurisdiction and dominion. Thence he passed through the mountains of Ceta, and, on account of some religious scruples affecting his mind, went up to Delphi to apply to the oracle. His sudden appearance in the middle of Greece caused a great alarm, not only in the neighbouring states, but even in Asia, whither an account of the disturbance was brought to King Eumenes. He stayed only three days at Delphi, and then returned to his own dominions, through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without doing the least injury or damage to those countries. He did not think it sufficient to conciliate the esteem of the several states through which his road lay, but despatched either ambassadors or letters to every one of the Grecian powers, requesting that they would "think no more of the animosities which had subsisted between them and his father; for that the disputes had not been so violent as that they might not and ought not to be dropped. On his part, there was no kind of obstacle to the forming of a cordial friendship." Above all, he wished particularly to find some way of ingratiating himself with the Achæan nation.

23. This nation, and the state of Athens, had carried their resentment to such a length as to prohibit the Macedonians entering their territories. In consequence of this, Mace-

* June 7.

donia became a place of refuge for slaves running away out of Achaia; for, as the Achæans had forbidden the inhabitants of Macedonia to set foot in their territories, they could not presume to pass the boundaries of that kingdom. When Perseus observed this, he seized all the fugitives, and wrote a letter [to the Achæans, telling them that, out of good-will towards them, he had sent home their slaves who had fled into his dominions;] but that they ought to consider of the proper means of preventing such elopements for the future. When this letter was read by the Pretor Xenarchus, who wished to recommend himself to the notice of the king, the greater part who were present, but especially those who had lost their slaves, commended the moderation and kindness with which it was written; but Callicrates, one who thought that the safety of the nation depended on the treaty with Rome being preserved inviolate, delivered his sentiments to his effect:—"Achæans,—some of you seem to consider the business under consideration as being of little consequence. Now, for my part, I think it of the utmost importance; and, that instead of being under consideration, it is already in a manner decided. We prohibited the kings of Macedonia and all their subjects from entering our territories, and made a perpetual decree not to receive from those sovereigns either ambassadors or messengers, who might attempt to draw us from our duty; yet we, I say, listen to what may, in some measure, be deemed the discourse of the king, though absent, and, what is more, approve of his discourse. Although brute beasts generally reject and shun the food laid in their way for their destruction, yet we, blinded by the specious offer of an insignificant favour, swallow the bait, and would, for the sake of recovering a parcel of wretched slaves, of no value worth mentioning, suffer our independence to be undermined and subverted. Is there a man among you who does not see that the result expected from this business is an alliance with the king, and consequently a dissolution of the treaty with Rome, the grand support of all our interests? That there must be a war between Perseus and the Romans is not, I believe, a matter of doubt: it was expected during the life of Philip, and would have taken place if his death had not interrupted its progress; it will, now that he is dead, most certainly ensue. Philip, you all know, had two sons, Demetrius and Perseus. Demetrius was far superior in

birth on the mother's side, in merit, capacity, and in the esteem of the Macedonian nation. But Philip, having set up the crown as the prize of hatred towards the Romans, put Demetrius to death, for no other crime than having contracted a friendship with that people; and raised Perseus to the throne, because he knew that his own antipathy to the Romans would descend to him with the crown. Accordingly, how has the present king employed himself since his father's death, but in preparing for the war? In the first place, to the terror of all the surrounding nations, he brought the Bastarnians into Dardania, where, if they had made a lasting settlement, they would have proved more troublesome neighbours to Greece than the Gauls are to Asia. Disappointed in that hope, he did not drop his design of a war; nay, if we choose to speak the truth, he has already commenced hostilities. He subdued Dolopia by force of arms, and would not listen to their appeal to the arbitration of the Romans. Then, crossing Ceta, that he might show himself in the very heart of Greece, he went up to Delphi. What, think you, was his view in taking a journey so uncommon? He next traversed Thessaly; and as to his refraining on his route from doing injury to the people whom he hated, I dread his machinations the more on that very account. He then sent a letter to us, with show of an act of kindness, and in which it is recommended that we consider of such measures as may prevent our needing the same in future; that is, to repeal the decree by which the Macedonians are excluded from Peloponnesus; to receive again ambassadors from him their king; to renew intimacies contracted with his principal subjects; and, in a short time, we should see Macedonian armies, himself at their head, crossing over the narrow strait from Delphi into Peloponnesus, and thus be blended with this people, while they are arming themselves against the Romans. My opinion is, that we ought not to resolve on any new proceeding, but to keep every thing in its present state until the question shall be decided with certainty, whether these our fears be well or ill grounded. If the peace between the Romans and Macedonians shall continue inviolate, then may we also have a friendship and intercourse with Perseus; but to think of such a measure now, appears to me both premature and dangerous."

24. After him, Arco, brother to the Pretor Xenarchus,

said :—"Callicrates has laid me, and every one who differs in opinion from him, under a difficulty in delivering our sentiments ; for after his pleading in favour of the Roman alliance, alleging designs formed, and meditated attacks on that state, yet (although there be no design formed or attack meditated) whoever dissents from him must seem to argue against the cause of the Romans. In the first place, as if he had just left the senate-house of the Roman people, or had been admitted into the privy councils of kings, he knows and tells us every transaction that passed in secret. Nay, more, inspired with a divining faculty, he pronounces what would have happened if Philip had lived, how Perseus became heir of the kingdom, what are the intentions of the Macedonians, and what the thoughts of the Romans. But we, who neither know for what cause nor in what manner Demetrius perished, nor what Philip would have done if he had lived, must accommodate our resolutions to the transactions that have passed in open view. We know that Perseus, on his coming to the throne, sent ambassadors to Rome, and received the title of king from the senate, and we hear that ambassadors came from Rome to the king, and were graciously received by him. As far as I can judge, all these circumstances do not prognosticate hostility ; and the Romans cannot be offended if, as we followed their lead in war, so we follow now their example in peace : for my part, I cannot see why we alone, of all mankind, wage implacable war against this kingdom. Are we exposed to insult by a close neighbourhood to Macedonia ? or are we like the Dolopians, whom Perseus subdued lately, the weakest of all the states ? No : on the contrary, thanks to the bounty of the gods, we are sufficiently secured, as well by our own strength as by the remoteness of our situation. But we have as much reason to apprehend ill treatment as the Thessalians and Ætolians ; we have no more credit or influence with the Romans, though ever their friends and allies, than the Ætolians, who but lately were their enemies. Whatever reciprocal rights the Ætolians, the Thessalians, the Epirots, in short, every state in Greece, allow to subsist between them and the Macedonians, let us allow the same. Why are we alone to carry inveterate rancour so far as to oppose the common claims of mankind ? Admitting that Philip's conduct was such as to justify our passing the decree against him which we did when he was in arms, and making war on us ; yet

how has Perseus, a prince just seated on the throne, whom we cannot charge with any kind of injustice towards us, and who endeavours, by his own kindness, to obliterate the memory of his father's quarrels ;—how has he deserved at our hands that we should be his only enemies ? I may go farther, and affirm, that so great have been our obligations to the former kings of Macedon, that the ill usage suffered from a single prince of their line, if any has really been suffered from Philip [ought to be forgotten], especially after his death. When a Roman fleet was lying at Cenchreæ, and the consul, with his army, was at Elatia, we were three days in council, deliberating whether we should follow the Romans or Philip. Now, granting that the fear of immediate danger from the Romans had no influence on our judgments, yet there was certainly something that made our deliberation last so long ; and that was the connexion which had long subsisted between us and the Macedonians ; the distinguished favours which we had of old received from their kings. Let the same considerations prevail at present,—not to make us his singular friends, but to hinder us from becoming his singular enemies. Let us not, Callicrates, pretend what is not even thought of. No one advises us to form a new alliance, or sign a new treaty, by which we might inconsiderately entangle ourselves, but merely to open the intercourse of affording and demanding justice ; and so as not by excluding his subjects from our territories, to exclude our slaves from his dominions ; nor yet to let the latter have a hiding-place to fly to. How does this operate against the Roman treaty ? Why do we give an air of importance and suspicion to a matter which is trifling and open to the world ? Why do we raise groundless alarms ? Why, for the sake of ingratiating ourselves still more particularly with our allies, render others odious and suspected ? If war shall take place, even Perseus himself does not doubt our taking part with the Romans. While peace continues, let animosities, if they are not terminated, be at least suspended." Those who approved the king's letter expressed their approbation of this speech ; but the chief men in the assembly represented it as so humiliating on their side, that the king, without deigning even to employ an embassy on the occasion, should compass his end by a letter of a few lines, that it was agreed to postpone coming to any resolution on the subject. Perseus afterward sent ambassadors, when the council was

sitting at Megalopolis; but those who dreaded a rupture with Rome took care to prevent their being admitted to audience.

25. Some time before this the Ætolians vented their fury on each other with such violence, and so much blood was shed by the contending parties, that the total extinction of the nation seemed to be at no great distance. Then both parties, being wearied, sent ambassadors to Rome, and also opened a negotiation between themselves for the restoration of concord: but this was broken off by an act of barbarity, which revived their old quarrels. Some exiles from Hypata, who were of the faction of Proxenus, had received a promise of being readmitted into their native city; and Eupolemus, first magistrate of the state, having pledged the public faith for their security, they returned home, to the number of eighty persons of distinction. Eupolemus went out, among the rest of the multitude, to meet them: they were received and saluted with every expression of kindness, and right hands were reciprocally given. But no sooner did they enter the gate, than they were all put to death; while they in vain appealed to the faith pledged to them, and the gods who witnessed the transaction. On this the war blazed out anew, with greater fury than ever. Caius Valerius Lævinus, Appius Claudius Pulcher, Caius Memmitis, Marcus Popillius, and Lucius Canuleius, being sent as ambassadors by the senate, arrived in that country. The deputies of both parties debated the business before them at Delphi, with great heat on both sides; but Proxenus particularly distinguished himself, and appeared to have greatly the advantage, both in the merits of his cause and his talents as an orator. A few days after he was poisoned by his wife Orthobula, who, being convicted of the crime, went into banishment. Crete was torn in pieces by the same kind of madness; but, on the arrival of Quintus Minucius, lieutenant-general, who was sent with ten ships to quiet their contentions, the inhabitants had some prospect of peace; however, they only concluded a suspension of arms for six months, after which the war was again renewed with much greater violence. About this time the Lycians, too, suffered many hardships from the Rhodians. But the wars of foreign nations among themselves, or the several methods in which they were conducted, it is not my business to detail; having, in the relation of those affairs in

which the Romans were concerned, a task of more than sufficient weight.

26. In Spain the Celtiberians (who, since their reduction by Tiberius Gracchus, and their consequent surrender to him, had remained quiet, Marcus Titinius, pretor, holding the government of the province), on the arrival of Appius Claudius, resumed their arms, and commenced hostilities with a sudden attack on the Roman camp. At the first dawn the sentinels on the rampart, and the men on guard before the gates, descriing the enemy approaching at a distance, gave the alarm. Appius Claudius instantly displayed the signal of battle; and after exhorting the troops in few words, ordered them to rush out by three gates at once. But they were opposed by the Celtiberians in the very passage; and in consequence, the fight was for some time equal on both sides, as, on account of the narrowness of the same, the Romans could not all come into action. Pressing forward, however, and following close on each other, they made their way beyond the trenches, so that they were able to stretch out their line, until it extended as far as the wings of the enemy, who were endeavouring to surround them; and now they made their onset with such sudden impetuosity, that the Celtiberians could not support the assault. Before the second hour they were driven from the field; fifteen thousand were either killed or made prisoners, and thirty-two standards were taken. Their camp also was stormed the same day, and a conclusion put to the war; for those who survived the battle fled by different ways to their several towns, and thenceforward submitted quietly to the Roman government.

27. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Aulus Postumius, being created censors this year, reviewed the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief pontiff, was chosen chief of the senate. Nine senators were expelled. The remarkable censures pronounced were on Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, who had been pretor in Spain two years before; on Lucius Cornelius Scipio, then pretor, and exercising the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners; and on Cneius Fulvius, brother to the censor, and, as Valerius Antias says, partner in property. The consuls, after offering vows in the capitol, set out for their provinces. Marcus Æmilius was commissioned by the senate to suppress an insurrection of the Pata-vians in Venetia; for their own ambassadors had given

information that the disputes between contending factions had become so violent as to produce a civil war. The ambassadors, who had gone into *Ætolia* to suppress commotions of a similar kind, reported on their return that the outrageous temper of that nation could not be restrained. The consul's arrival among the *Patavians* saved them from ruin; and, having no other business in the province, he returned to Rome. The present censors were the first who engaged workmen to pave the streets of Rome with flint-stones, to make roads outside the city with gravel, and to form raised footways on the sides. They caused bridges to be built in several places, and seats in the theatre to be set apart for the pretors and ediles; fixed up goals in the circus, with balls on the goals for marking the number of courses of the chariots; and erected iron grates, through which wild beasts might be let in. They caused the *Capitoline Hill* to be paved with flint, and erected a piazza from the temple of Saturn, in the capitol, to the senate-house, and over that a public hall. On the outside of the gate *Trigemina* they also paved a market-place with stones, and enclosed it with a paling; repaired the *Æmilian portico*; and formed an ascent, by stairs, from the *Tiber* to the market-place. They paved with flint the portico from the same gate to the *Aventine*, and built a courthouse; contracted for walls to be built at *Galatia* and *Oximum*, and, selling lots of ground there which belonged to the public, employed the money arising from the sale in building shops round the forums of both places. *Fulvius Flaccus* (for *Postumius* [declared] that, without a decree of the senate or order of the people, he would not expend any money belonging to them) agreed for building a temple of *Jupiter* at *Pisaurum*, and another at *Fundi*; for bringing water to *Pollentia*; for paving the street of *Pisaurum*, and for many various works at *Sinuessa*; among which were, the drawing round a sewer to fall into the river, the enclosing of the forum with porticoes and shops, and erecting three statues of *Janus*. These works were all executed under the direction of *Fulvius*, and gained him a high degree of favour with those colonists. These censors were also very active and strict in their superintendence of the morals of the people. Many knights were deprived of their horses.

28. At the close of the year there was a thanksgiving for one day, on account of the advantages obtained in Spain un-

der the conduct and auspices of Appius Claudius, proconsul, when twenty victims of the larger kinds were sacrificed. There was also a supplication for one day at the temples of Ceres, Liber, and Liberia, on account of a violent earthquake which had happened in Sabinia, and demolished a great number of buildings. When Appius Claudius came home from Spain, the senate voted that he should enter the city in ovation. The election of consuls now came on, and, after a very warm contest, in consequence of the great number of candidates, the choice fell on Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Lænas. [A. U. C. 579. B. C. 173.] Then were chosen prætors, Numerius Fabius Buteo, Marcus Matienus, Caius Cicerius, Marcus Furius Crassipes, a second time, Marcus Atilius Serranus, a second time, and Caius Cluvius Saxula, a second time. After the elections were finished, Appius Claudius Centho, entering the city in ovation over the Celtiberians, conveyed to the treasury ten thousand pounds weight of silver and five thousand of gold. Cneius Cornelius was inaugurated flamen of Jupiter. In the same year a tablet was hung up in the temple of Mother Matuta, with this inscription:—"Under the command and auspices of Tiberius Sempromnius Gracchus, consul, a legion and army of the Roman people subdued Sardinia, in which province above eighty thousand of the enemy were killed or taken. Having executed the business of the public with the happiest success; having recovered the revenues, and restored them [to the commonwealth],—he brought home the army safe, uninjured, and enriched with spoil, and a second time entered the city of Rome in triumph. In commemoration of which event he presented this tablet an offering to Jupiter." A map of the Island of Sardinia was engraved on the tablet, and representations of the battles fought there were delineated on it. Several small exhibitions of gladiators were given to the public this year; the only one particularly remarkable was that given by Titus Flamininus on occasion of his father's death, which was accompanied with a donation of meat, a feast, and stage-plays, which lasted four days. Yet, in the whole of this great exhibition, only seventy-four men fought in three days. [The close of this year was rendered memorable by the proposal of a new and important rule, which was debated with great heat. Hitherto, as the law stood, women were equally capable of taking inheritances as men. In consequence of

this capacity, the wealth of the most illustrious houses was frequently transferred into other families, to the great detriment, as was supposed, of the state ; to which it was no small advantage that the descendants of distinguished ancestors should, by their wealth and splendour, be an ornament and defence, rather than, by being reduced to indigence, become a disgrace and a burden to the public. It was also thought that, to the weaker sex, wealth might hold out dangerous temptations to luxurious indulgence ; and that, fond by nature of dissipation, dress, and show, they might be induced to depart from that sanctity of manners and purity of conduct which of old were deemed the brightest ornaments of the female character. To obviate these evils, Quintus Voconius Sarsa, plebeian tribune, proposed to the people that "no person whatever should make any woman, whether married or unmarried, his heir ; also that no woman, whether married or unmarried, should be capable of taking, by inheritance, goods exceeding the value of one hundred thousand aesterces."* Voconius also thought it proper to provide that estates should not be too much diminished by legacies ; or, which sometimes happened, left away entirely from the right heirs. Accordingly, he added a clause to his law, that "no person should bequeath to any person or persons property exceeding in value what was to go to the right heirs." This latter clause readily met the general approbation ; it appeared reasonable, and likely to be very little grievous to any. But the former clause, utterly disqualifying women from taking inheritances, passed not so easily ; there was a strong opposition to it, and a very violent debate ; to which, at length, a speech of Marcus Porcius Cato put an end. His strenuous defence of the Oppian law, and bitter invective against the indecorous behaviour of the women, we have already related.† On the present occasion he exerted himself with equal earnestness, nor did he treat the female character with less severity. He declaimed with great vehemence against the extravagance and ostentation of the richer matrons ; "who," he said, "retain to themselves large sums of money, which they do not intrust to the power of their husbands, but only lend to them ; and then, on any quarrel arising between them, they send their own slaves,

* 20721. 18s. 4d.

† Book xxxiv. c. 1.

who importunately demand repayment, and treat the husbands as if they were entire strangers, happening to be their debtors."—The law passed, as proposed by Voconius.

BOOK XLII.

CHAP. 1. The first business which Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Lænas brought before the senate, was the distribution of the provinces; when Liguria was assigned the joint province of both, with directions that they should enlist new legions; each having two assigned him for the service of that province, and also ten thousand foot and six hundred horse of the Latine confederates; and, as a supplement to the army in Spain, three thousand Roman foot and two hundred horse. Besides these, they were ordered to raise one thousand five hundred Roman foot and one hundred horse; with which the pretor, to whose lot Sardinia should fall, might cross over to Corsica, and carry on the war there; and it was farther ordered that, in the meantime, the former pretor, Marcus Atilius, should hold the government of that country. The pretors then cast lots for their provinces. Aulus Atilius Serranus obtained the city jurisdiction; Caius Cluvius Saxula, that between natives and foreigners; Numerius Fabius Buteo, Hither Spain; Marcus Matienus, Farther Spain; Marcus Furius Crassipes, Sicily; and Caius Cicereius, Sardinia. The senate resolved that, before the magistrates went abroad, Lucius Postumius should go into Campania, to fix the bounds between the lands which were private property and those which belonged to the public; for it was understood that individuals, by gradually extending their bounds, had taken possession of a very considerable share of the common lands. The consul had conceived a great aversion for the people of Præneste, because, on his going thither formerly, in a private capacity, to offer sacrifice in the temple of Fortune, they had paid him no compliment either general or particular: for which reason, before he set out from Rome, he sent a letter to Præneste, ordering the chief magistrate to meet him, and to provide him lodging at the

public expense ; and that, at his departure, cattle should be ready to carry his baggage. No consul before him ever put the allies to any trouble or expense whatever. To prevent any such exaction, those magistrates were furnished with mules, tents, and every other requisite for a campaign. They had private lodgings, in which they behaved with courtesy and kindness, and their houses at Rome were always open to their hosts with whom they used to lodge. Ambassadors, indeed, sent to any place on a sudden emergency, demanded each a single horse in the several towns through which their journey lay ; but no other expense was ever imposed on the allies by the Roman magistrates. The resentment of the consul, which, even if well founded, ought not to have been exerted during his office, and the too-modest or too timid acquiescence of the Prænestines, gave to his successors, as if by an approved precedent, the privilege of laying on the confederates other such kinds of burdens, the weight of which was continually increased.

2. In the beginning of this year the ambassadors who had been sent to Ætolia and Macedonia returned, and reported that "they had not been able to obtain an interview with Perseus, some of his court saying that he was abroad, others that he was sick ; both of which were false pretences. Nevertheless, they clearly perceived that he would not long defer the commencement of hostilities : that in Ætolia, likewise, the dissensions grew daily more violent ; and the leaders of the contending parties were not to be restrained by their authority." As a war with Macedonia was daily expected, the senate resolved that, before it broke out, all prodigies should be expiated, and the favour of the gods invoked, in such kind of supplications as should be found directed in the books of the Fates. It was said that at Lanuvium the appearance of large fleets was seen in the air ; that at Privernum black wool grew out of the ground ; that in the territory of Veii, at Remens, a shower of stones fell ; and that the whole Pomptine district was covered with clouds of locusts ; also, that in the Gallic province, where a plough was at work, fishes sprang up from under the earth as it was turned. The books of the Fates were accordingly consulted, and the decemvirs directed both to what gods and with what victims sacrifices should be offered ; that a supplication should be performed, in expiation of the prodigies ; and also

another, which had been vowed in the preceding year for the health of the people, with a solemn festival. Accordingly, sacrifices were offered, agreeable to the written directions of the decemvirs.

3. In the same year the temple of Juno Lacinia was uncovered. Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, censor, in erecting a temple to Equestrian Fortune, which he had vowed during the Celtiberian war, was anxiously desirous that it should not be surpassed by any other at Rome, either in size or magnificence. Thinking that it would be a very great embellishment to this temple if it were roofed with marble, he went to Bruttium, and stripped off about the half of that of the temple of Juno Lacinia; for he computed that so much would be sufficient to cover the one he was building. Ships were in readiness to take on board the materials, while the allies were deterred by the authority of the censor from making opposition to this sacrilege. On his return the marble was landed, and carried to the temple; but, though he made no mention of the place from which it was brought, yet such an affair could not be concealed. Accordingly, it occasioned considerable murmuring in the senate; and all the members expressed their desire that the consuls should take the opinion of the fathers on the subject. When the censor, on being summoned, appeared in the senate-house, they all, both separately and in a body, inveighed against him with much asperity. They cried out that "he was not content with violating the most venerable temple in all that part of the world,—a temple which neither Pyrrhus nor Hannibal had violated,—but he had stripped it shamefully, and almost demolished it. Though created censor for the purpose of regulating men's manners, and bound in duty, according to long established rules, to enforce the repairing of edifices for public worship, and the keeping them in due order, he had nevertheless gone about through the cities of the allies, stripping off the roofs of their sacred buildings, and even demolishing them. In a word, and what might be deemed scandalous, if practised on private houses, he committed against the temples of the immortal gods, involving the Roman people in the guilt of impiety; as if the deities were not the same in all places, but that some should be decorated with the spoils of others." Such evidently appeared to be the sentiments of the senators before their opinion was asked; and, when the

question was put, they unanimously concurred in voting that proper persons should be employed to carry back the marble in question to the temple, and that atonements should be offered to Juno. What regarded the atonements was carefully executed; but those who undertook to see to the repairing of the building made a report that they were obliged to leave the marble in the court of it, because no workman could be found who knew how to replace the same.

4. Of the pretors who set out for the provinces, Numerius Fabius, on his way to Hither Spain, died at Marseilles. Envoys, sent by the Massilians, brought an account of this event; on which the senate resolved that Publius Furius and Cneius Servilius, to whom successors had been sent, should cast lots to determine which of them should hold the government of Hither Spain, with a continuation of authority; and the lot determined very commodiously that Publius Furius, the former governor, should continue. During this year, on its appearing that large tracts of land in Gaul and Liguria, which had been taken in war, lay unoccupied, the senate passed a decree that those lands should be distributed in single shares; and Aulus Titilius, city pretor, in pursuance of the said decree, appointed ten commissioners for that purpose, Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, Caius Cassius, Titus Æbutius Carus, Caius Tremellius, Publius Cornelius Cethegus, Quintus and Lucius Appuleius, Marcus Cæcilius, Caius Saloniæ, and Caius Munatius. They apportioned ten acres to each Roman, and three to each Latine colonist. At this time ambassadors came to Rome from Ætolia with representations of the quarrels and dissensions subsisting in that country; as did others from Thessaly, with accounts of the proceedings in Macedonia.

5. Perseus, applying his thoughts to the war, which had been resolved on during the lifetime of his father, endeavoured, by sending embassies, and by promising a great deal more than he performed, to attach to himself not only the commonwealth of Greece, but also each particular state. The inclinations of that people, in general, were much better disposed towards him than towards Eumenes, notwithstanding that most of the leading men were under obligations to Eumenes for valuable presents and other acts of kindness; and that, in the administration of government, his conduct was such that none of the states under his dominion felt

any disposition to change situations with those that were free. With regard to Perseus, it was currently reported that, after his father's death, he had killed his wife with his own hand; and invited from exile Apelles, who had formerly been his instrument in the villanous destruction of his brother, and who had, on that account, been carefully searched after by Philip, in order to bring him to punishment. Perseus having prevailed on Apelles to return, by promises of the most ample rewards for his services, put him privately to death. Although he had rendered himself infamous by many other murders, both of his own relations and of others, and possessed not one good quality to recommend him, yet the Grecian states in general gave him the preference to Eumenes,—to a prince of such affection towards his relations, such justice towards his subjects, and such liberality towards all mankind; whether they were so prejudiced by the fame and dignity of the Macedonian kings as to despise a kingdom lately formed, or were led by a wish for a change in affairs, or were desirous of exposing him to the arms of the Romans. The Ætolians were not the only people in a state of distraction on account of the intolerable burden of their debts: the Thessalians were in the same situation; and the evil, like a pestilence, had spread into Perrhæbia also. As soon as it was known that the Thessalians were in arms, the senate sent Appius Claudius as ambassador, to examine and adjust their affairs. He severely reprimanded the leaders of both parties; and after cancelling so much of the debts as had been accumulated by iniquitous usury, which he did with the consent of the greater part of the creditors themselves, he ordered the remaining just debts to be discharged by annual payments. In the same manner Appius regulated the business of Perrhæbia. In the meantime Marcellus, at Delphi, gave a hearing to the disputes of the Ætolians, which they maintained with no less hostile acrimony than they had shown against each other in the heat of their civil war. Perceiving that they vied with each other in inconsiderate violence, he did not choose to make any determination to lighten or aggravate the grievances of either party, but required of both alike to cease from hostilities, and, forgetting what was past, to put an end to their quarrels. A reconciliation accordingly took place between them, and was confirmed by a reciprocal exchange of hostages.

6. A meeting was appointed at Corinth, in order that the hostages might be lodged in that city. On the breaking up of the Ætolian council Marcellus crossed over from Delphi into Peloponnesus, where he had summoned a diet of the Achæans. There, by the praises which he bestowed on that nation for having resolutely maintained their old decree, which prohibited the admission of the Macedonian kings within the limits of their territories, he manifested the inveterate hatred of the Romans towards Perseus; and this hatred broke out into effect the sooner, in consequence of King Eumenes coming to Rome, and bringing with him a written statement of the preparations made for war, which he had drawn up, after a full inquiry into every particular. Five ambassadors were now sent to the king, in order to take a view of affairs in Macedonia; whence they were to proceed to Alexandria, to renew the treaty of friendship with Ptolemy. These were Caius Valerius, Cneius Lutatius Cerco, Quintus Bæbius Sulca, Marcus Cornelius Mammula, and Marcus Cæcilius Denter. About the same time came ambassadors from King Antiochus; and the principal of them, called Apollonius, being admitted to audience of the senate, presented, on behalf of his king, many and reasonable apologies for paying the tribute later than the day appointed. "He now brought," he said, "the whole of it, that the king might not trespass on their indulgence in any other respect than that of time. He was moreover charged with a present of gold vases, in weight five hundred pounds. Antiochus requested that the treaty of alliance and amity which had been made with his father, might be renewed with him; and entreated the Roman people freely to demand from him every service which might be expected from a prince sincerely disposed to prove himself a faithful ally. They would never find him remiss in the performance of any duty towards them. He had, while in Rome, experienced so great kindness from the senate, and so much courtesy from the younger part of the community, that, among all ranks of men, he was treated as a sovereign, not as a hostage." A gracious answer was returned to the ambassadors, and Aulus Atilius, city pretor, was ordered to renew with Antiochus the alliance formerly made with his father. The city questors received the tribute, and the censors the golden vases, which they were directed to deposit in whatever temples they should judge proper. One

hundred thousand asses* were presented to the ambassador; and it was ordered that a house should be given him for his accommodation, and his expenses defrayed, as long as he should remain in Italy. The ambassadors who had been in Syria represented him as standing in the highest degree of favour with the king, and a very warm friend to the Romans. Such were the occurrences of this year respecting the provinces.

7. Caius Cicereius, pretor in Corsica, fought the enemy in a pitched battle, in which seven thousand of the Corsicans were slain, and more than one thousand seven hundred taken. During the engagement the pretor vowed a temple to Juno Moneta. Peace was then granted to that people on their petitioning for it; and a contribution was imposed of two hundred thousand pounds' weight of wax. Corsica being thus reduced to subjection, Cicereius sailed back to Sardinia. In Liguria also, a battle was fought in the territory of Statiella, at the town of Carystas. The Ligurians had assembled there a numerous army, who, for some time after Marcus Popillius's arrival, kept themselves within the walls; but afterward, on the Roman general preparing to lay siege to the town, they marched out beyond the gates, and drew up in order of battle. The consul declined not an engagement; it was, indeed, the point he aimed at in threatening a siege. The fight was maintained for more than three hours, in such a manner that the hope of victory leaned to neither side; but when the consul perceived that the Ligurian battalions nowhere gave ground, he ordered the cavalry to mount their horses, and charge in three places at once with all possible violence. A great part of the horse broke through the middle of the enemy's line, and made their way to the rear of the troops engaged, which struck such terror into their whole army that they fled in confusion on all sides. Very few ran back into the town, because in that quarter chiefly the cavalry had thrown themselves in their way. So obstinate a contest swept off great numbers of the Ligurians, and many perished in the flight; ten thousand of them are said to have been killed, and more than seven hundred taken in various places; besides which, the victors brought off eighty-two of their military standards. Nor was the victory gained without

loss of blood ; above three thousand of the conquerors fell in the conflict ; for, neither party giving way, the foremost on both sides were cut off.

8. When the Ligurians, after their dispersion in this defeat, reassembled in one body, they found that a much greater number of their countrymen were lost than left alive (for there were not above ten thousand men surviving) ; on which they surrendered. They did not stipulate for any terms, yet entertained hopes that the consul would not treat them with greater severity than had been practised by former commanders. But he immediately stripped them of all their arms, and razed their town. He then made sale of themselves and their effects ; which done, he sent a letter to the senate, relating the services which he had performed. When Aulus Atilius read this letter in the council (for the other consul, Postumius, was absent, being employed in surveying the lands in Campania), the proceeding appeared to the senate in a heinous light ; “ that the people of Statiella, who alone, of all the Ligurian nation, had not borne arms against the Romans, should be attacked, when not offering hostilities, and, even after surrendering themselves into the protection of the Roman people, should be abused and exterminated by every instance of the most barbarous cruelty, they held utterly unpardonable ; that so many thousands of innocent persons suffering, who had reckoned on the faith of the Roman people, afforded an example of the most mischievous tendency, and was enough to deter any from surrendering to them in future ; dragged as they were away into various parts of the country, and made slaves to those who were formerly the avowed enemies of Rome, though now reduced to quiet. For these reasons the senate ordered that the Consul Marcus Popillius should reinstate the Ligurians in their liberty, repaying the purchase-money to the buyers, and should likewise use his best endeavours to recover and restore their effects, and also their arms ; and that, when these things were done, he should immediately retire out of the province ; for they observed that victory became honourable by subduing opposition, not by cruelty to the vanquished.”

9. But the same ferocious temper which actuated the consul in his conduct towards the Ligurians, urged him to refuse obedience to the senate. He immediately sent the legions into winter-quarters at Pisæ, and, full of resentment against

the senators and the pretor, went home to Rome ; where, instantly assembling the senate in the temple of Bellona, he poured forth a torrent of invectives against the city magistrate, who, “when he ought to have proposed the offering of a thanksgiving for the happy successes obtained by the Roman arms, had procured a decree of the senate against him in favour of the enemy, transferring thereby his victory to the Ligurians ; and, though only a pretor, he had ordered the consul, in a manner, to be surrendered to them : he therefore gave notice that he would sue to have him fined. From the senate he demanded a repeal of their decree passed against him ; and that the thanksgiving, which they ought to have voted on the authority of his letter, sent from abroad, with an account of the success of the arms of the commonwealth, should now, when he was present, be voted ; first, in consideration of the honour due to the immortal gods, and next, out of some kind regard to himself.” Many of the senators censured him to his face in terms no less severe than they had used in his absence ; and not being able to obtain either of his requests, he returned to his province. The other consul, Postumius, after spending the whole summer in surveying the lands, without even seeing his province, came home to Rome to hold the elections, when Caius Popillius Lænas and Publius Ælius Ligus were chosen consuls. Then were elected pretors Caius Licinius Crassus, Marcus Junius Pennus, Spurius Lucretius, Spurius Cluvius, Cneius Sicinius, and Caius Memmius, a second time.

10. The lustrum was closed this year. The censors were Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Lucius Postumius Albinus, the latter of whom performed the ceremony. In this survey were rated two hundred and sixty-nine thousand and fifteen Roman citizens. The number would have been much greater had not the Consul Lucius Postumius given public orders, in assembly, that none of the Latine allies (who, according to the edict of the Consul Caius Claudius, ought to have gone home) should be surveyed at Rome, but all of them in their respective countries. The censors conducted themselves in the office with perfect harmony and zeal for the public good. They disfranchised and degraded from their tribes every one whom they expelled the senate, or from whom they took away his horse ; nor did either approve a person censured by the other. Fulvius at this time dedicated the temple of Equestrian For-

tune, which he had vowed six years before, and when proconsul in Spain, during the battle with the Celtiberians: he also exhibited stage-plays, which lasted four days, in one of which the performance was in the circus. Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, decemvir in religious matters, died this year, and Aulus Postumius Albinus was substituted in his room. Such great crowds of locusts were suddenly brought by the wind over the sea into Apulia, that they covered a great part of the country: in order to remove this pest, so destructive to the fruits of the earth, Caius Sicinius, pretor elect, was sent in command, with a vast multitude of people, to gather them up, which took a considerable time. The beginning of the year in which Caius Popillius and Publius Ælius were consuls, was employed in the disputes which had arisen in the last. [A. U. C. 580. B. C. 172.] The senators were desirous that the business respecting the Ligurians should be reconsidered, and the decree renewed. Ælius, the consul, was willing to propose it, but Popillius warmly interceded for his brother, both with his colleague and the senate: and by giving notice, that if any vote should be passed on the subject he would enter his protest, he deterred him from proceeding in the matter. The senate being hereby equally incensed against them, persisted the more obstinately in their intention; and when they took into consideration the distribution of the provinces, although the consuls wished for Macedonia, because a war with Perseus was daily expected, they assigned Liguria as the province of both, declaring that they would not vote Macedonia to them unless the question were put on the affair of Marcus Popillius. The consuls afterward demanded that they might be authorized to raise either new armies or recruits to fill up the old: both were refused. The pretors for Spain also applied for re-enforcement: Marcus Junius for Hither Spain, and Spurius Lucretius for the Farther; and were in like manner refused. Caius Licinius Crassus obtained, by lot, the city jurisdiction; Cneius Sicinius, the foreign; Caius Memmius, Sicily; and Spurius Cluvius, Sardinia. The consuls, enraged against the senate, appointed an early day for the Latine festival; at the same time declaring openly that they would go away to their province, and would not transact any kind of business except what belonged to their own government.

11. Valerius Antias writes that, in this consulate, Attalus,

brother to King Eumenes, came to Rome as ambassador, with heavy charges against Perseus, and an account of his preparations for war. But the greater number of historians, and those deemed most worthy of credit, assert that Eumenes came in person. Eumenes then, on his arrival, was received with every degree of respect which the Roman people judged suitable, not merely to his deserts, but also to their own former favours, bestowed on him in great abundance. Being introduced to the senate, he said that "the reason which had induced him to come to Rome, besides his wish to visit those gods and men who had placed him in a situation beyond what he could not presume to form a wish, was, that he might in person forewarn the senate to counteract the designs of Perseus." Then, beginning with the projects of Philip, he mentioned his murder of Demetrius, because that prince was averse from a war with Rome, and of calling the Bastarnian nation from their several residences, that he might have their support in coming into Italy. "While his thoughts were busied in plans of this sort, he was surprised by the approach of death, and left his kingdom to the person whom he knew to be, of all men, the bitterest foe to the Romans. Perseus, therefore," said he, "having received this scheme of a war as a legacy bequeathed by his father, and descending to him along with the crown, advances and improves it, as his primary object, by every means that he can devise. He is powerful in respect of the number of his young men, a long peace having produced a plentiful progeny; he is powerful in respect of the resources of his kingdom; and powerful, likewise, in respect of his age. And as, at his time of life, he possesses vigour of body, so his mind has been thoroughly trained, both in the theory and practice of war; for, even from his childhood, he accompanied his father in his campaigns, and thereby became inured to it, not only against the neighbouring states, but also against the Romans, being employed by him in many and various expeditions. Add to this, that since the government came into his own hands, he has, by a wonderful train of prosperous events, accomplished many things which Philip, after using his best efforts, could never effect, either by force or artifice.

12. "Besides his strength, he has such a degree of influence as is usually acquired in a great length of time, by many and important kindnesses: for, in the several states

throughout Greece and Asia, all men revere the dignity of his character ; nor do I perceive for what deserts, for what generosity, such uncommon respect is paid him ; neither can I with certainty say whether it is the effect of some good fortune attending him, or whether, what I mention with reluctance, a general dislike to the Romans attaches men to his interest. Even among sovereign princes his influence is exceedingly extensive. He married the daughter of Seleucus ; a match which he did not solicit, but to which he was solicited by her friends ; and he gave his sister in marriage to Prusias, in compliance with his earnest prayers and entreaties. Both these marriages were solemnized amid congratulations and presents from innumerable embassies, the royal couples being escorted by the most renowned nations acting as bridal attendants. The Boeotians could never be brought, by all the intrigues of Philip, to sign a treaty of friendship with him ; but now, a treaty with Perseus is engraved at three different places, at Thebes, in Delos, in the most venerable and celebrated temple, and at Delphi. Then, in the diet of Achaia (only that the proceeding was stopped by a few persons threatening them with the displeasure of the Roman government), the business was nearly effected of allowing him admission into that country. But as to the honours formerly paid to myself (whose kindnesses to that nation have been such that it is hard to say whether my public or private benefactions were the greater), they have been lost, partly through neglect, and partly by hostile means. Who does not know that the Ætolians lately, on occasion of their intestine broils, sought protection, not from the Romans, but from Perseus ? For, while he is upheld by these alliances and friendships, he has at home such preparations of every requisite for war, that he wants nothing from abroad. He has thirty thousand foot and five thousand horse, and is laying up a store of corn for ten years, so that his country is in no kind of danger with respect to provisions. He has amassed money to such an amount as to have in readiness the pay of ten thousand mercenary soldiers, besides the Macedonian troops, for the same number of years, as well as the annual revenue accruing from the royal mines. He has stored up arms for three times that number of men ; and has Thrace under subjection, from which, as a never-failing spring, he can draw supplies of young men."

13. The rest of his discourse contained exhortations to timely exertions: "Conscript fathers," said he, "the representations which I have made to you are not founded on uncertain rumours, and too readily believed by me, because I wished such charges against my enemy to be true; but on a clear discovery of the facts, as if I had been sent by you to make it. Nor would I have left my kingdom, which you have rendered ample and highly respectable, and crossed such a tract of sea, to injure my own credit by offering you unauthenticated reports. I saw the most remarkable states of Asia and Greece every day gradually unfolding their sentiments, and ready to proceed, shortly, to such lengths as would not leave them room for repentance. I saw Persus, not confining himself within the limits of Macedonia, but seizing some places by force of arms, and seducing, by favour and kindness, those which he could not subdue. I perceived how unfair a footing matters stood on, while his intentions towards you were evidently hostile, and yours towards him perfectly pacific; although, to my judgment, he did not appear to be preparing, but to be rather waging war. Abrupolis, your ally and friend, he dethroned. Artetarus, the Illyrian, another ally and friend of yours, he put to death on hearing of some information which he had afforded you. The Thebans, Eversa and Callicrates, two of the chief men in the state, he procured to be taken off, because in the council of the Bœotians they had spoken with more than ordinary freedom against him, and declared that they would inform the Romans of what was going on. He carried succour to the Byzantians, contrary to the treaty. He made war on Dolopia. He overran Thessaly and Doris with an army, in order to take advantage of the civil war then raging, and, by the help of the party which had the worse cause, to crush the other, which had more right on its side. He raised universal confusion and disorder in Thessaly and Perrhæbia, by holding out a prospect of an abolition of debts, that, by means of the multitude of debtors thereby attached to his interest, he might overpower the nobles. As you remained inactive and patient during all these transactions, and as he sees Greece yielded up to him by you, he firmly believes that he will not meet with one opponent in arms until he arrives in Italy. How safe or how honourable this might be for you, yourselves will consider; for my part, I thought it would certainly reflect dis-

honour on me, if Perseus should come into Italy to make war before I, your ally, came to warn you to be on your guard. Having discharged this duty, necessarily incumbent on me, and in some measure freed and exonerated my faith, what can I do farther, except beseeching the gods and goddesses that you may adopt such measures as will prove salutary to yourselves, to your commonwealth, and to us, your allies and friends, who depend on you."

14. His discourse made a deep impression on the senate. However, for the present, no one without doors could know any thing more than that the king had been in the senate-house, such secrecy was observed by all the members; and it was not until after the conclusion of the war that the purport of King Eumenes's speech and the answer to it transpired. In a few days after, the senate gave audience to the ambassadors of Perseus. But their minds had been so prepossessed by King Eumenes, that every plea offered in his justification by the ambassadors, and every argument to alleviate the charges against him, was disregarded. They were still farther exasperated by the immoderate presumption of Harpalus, chief of the embassy, who said that "the king was indeed desirous, and even anxious, that they should give credit to his asseveration respecting his conduct, that he had neither said nor done any thing hostile; but that, if he saw them obstinately bent on finding out a pretence for war, he would defend himself with courage and resolution. The fortune of war was open to all, and the issue uncertain." All the states of Greece and Asia were full of curiosity to learn what the ambassadors of Perseus, and what Eumenes, had effected with the senate; and most of them, on hearing of the latter's journey to Rome, which they supposed might produce material consequences, had sent ambassadors thither, under pretexts of other business. Among the rest came an embassy from Rhodes, at the head of which was a person named Satyrus, who had no kind of doubt but that Eumenes had included his state in the accusations brought against Perseus. He therefore endeavoured by every means, through his patrons and friends, to get an opportunity of debating the matter with Eumenes in presence of the senate. When he obtained this, he inveighed against that king with intemperate vehemence, as having instigated the people of Lycia to an attack on the Rhodians, and as being more oppressive to

Asia than Antiochus had been. This rendered his discourse flattering indeed, and acceptable to the states of Asia (for the popularity of Perseus had spread even to them), but very displeasing to the senate, and disadvantageous to himself and his nation. This apparent conspiracy against Eumenes increased, indeed, the favour of the Romans towards him; so that every kind of honour was paid, and the most magnificent presents were made him; among which were a curule chair and an ivory sceptre.

15. After the embassies were dismissed, Harpalus hastened home to Macedonia, and told the king that he had left the Romans not indeed making immediate preparations for war, but in such an angry temper that it was very evident they would not defer it long. Perseus himself, who all along believed that this would be the case, now even wished for it, as he thought himself at the highest pitch of power that he could ever expect to attain. Being more violently incensed against Eumenes than against any other, he resolved to commence the war by shedding his blood; and he suborned Evander, a Cretan, commander of the auxiliaries, and three Macedonians, who were accustomed to the perpetration of such deeds, to murder that king, giving them a letter to a woman called Praxo, an acquaintance of his, the wealthiest and most powerful person at Delphi. It was generally known that Eumenes intended going up to Delphi to sacrifice to Apollo. Thither the assassins, with Evander, proceeded in search of a convenient place for the execution of their design. On the road from Cirrha to the temple, before they came to the places thickly inhabited, there was a wall on the left side, at the foot of which was a narrow path, where single persons could pass; on the right, the ground had sunk, and formed a precipice of considerable depth. Behind this wall they concealed themselves, and raised up steps to it, that from thence, as from that of a fortress, they might discharge their weapons on the king as he passed by. At first, as he came up from the sea, he was surrounded by a multitude of his friends and attendants; afterward, the road growing gradually narrower, consequently made the train thinner about him. When they arrived at the spot where each was to pass singly, the first who advanced on the path was Pantaleon, an Ætolian of distinction, who was at the time in conversation with the king. The assassins now, starting up, rolled down two huge

stones, one of which struck Eumenes on the head, and the other on the shoulder, with such force as to deprive him of sensation; and as he tumbled from the sloping path down the precipice, they poured a multitude of stones on him. The rest of his friends and attendants, on seeing him fall, fled different ways; but Pantaleon, with great intrepidity and resolution, kept his ground, in order to protect the king.

16. The assassins might, by making a short circuit round the wall, have run down and completed their business; they yet fled off towards the top of Parnassus with precipitation. One of them, however, being unable to keep up with the rest through the pathless and steep grounds, and thus retarding their flight, they killed him, lest he should be taken, and a discovery ensue. The friends, and then the guards and servants of the king, ran together and raised him up, while he was in a swoon and quite insensible. However, they perceived, from the warmth of his body and the breath remaining in his lungs, that he was still alive, but had little or no hopes that he would ever recover. Some of his guards pursued the tracks of the assassins with much fatigue to the summit of the hill, but returned without being able to overtake them. As the Macedonians set about the deed injudiciously, so, after making the attempt with boldness, they abandoned it in a manner both foolish and cowardly. Next day the king, who had by this time come to himself, was conveyed by his friends on shipboard, and sailed thence to Corinth; then, having drawn their vessels across the neck of the isthmus, they crossed over to Ægina. Here his cure was conducted with such secrecy, no one being admitted to see him, that a report of his death was carried into Asia, and was believed, even by Attalus, with more readiness than became an affectionate brother; for he talked, both to Eumenes's consort and to the governor of the citadel, as if he had actually succeeded to the crown. This afterward came to the knowledge of the king; who, though he had determined to dissemble, and to pass it over in silence, yet could not refrain, at their first meeting, from rallying Attalus on his premature haste to get a wife. The report of Eumenes's death spread even to Rome.

17. About the same time, Caius Valerius, who had been sent ambassador into Greece to examine the state of that country, and to observe the movements of King Perseus, returned home; and his reports accorded in every circumstance

with the representations made by Eumenes. He brought with him from Delphi, Praxo, the woman whose house had served as a receptacle for the assassins, and Lucius Rammius, a Brundusian, giving information to this effect: that Rammius was a person of the first distinction at Brundisium, accustomed to entertain in his house the Roman commanders, and such ambassadors as came that way from foreign powers, especially those of the kings. By these means he became known to Perseus, although his dominions were so distant: and in consequence of a letter from him, which gave hopes of a more intimate friendship, and of great advantages to accrue to him, he went on a visit to the king, and in a short time found himself treated with particular familiarity, and drawn, oftener than he wished, into private conversations. Perseus, after promises of the highest rewards, pressed him, with the most earnest solicitations, "as all the commanders and ambassadors of the Romans used to lodge at his house, to procure poison to be given to such of them as he should point out by letter;" and told him that "as he knew the preparation of poison to be attended with the greatest difficulty and danger, and that ordinarily it could not be administered without the privacy of several; besides, the dose was not always certain in its operation, either as to its power to produce the desired effect, or its safety with respect to concealment;—he would therefore give him some which would not afford any sign that could lead to detection." Rammius, dreading lest, in case of refusal, he should himself be the first on whom the poison would be tried, promised compliance and departed; but not thinking it prudent to return to Brundisium without first applying to Caius Valerius, the ambassador, who was said to be at that time in the neighbourhood of Chalcis, he first disclosed the affair to him; and then, by his order, accompanied him to Rome, where, being brought before the senate, he gave them an account of what had passed.

18. These discoveries, added to the representations made before by Eumenes, hastened a declaration of war against Perseus; the senate perceiving that he did not content himself with preparing, with the spirit of a king, for a fair and open war, but pushed his designs by all the base clandestine means of assassination and poison. It was resolved that the new consuls should have the conduct of the war; but, in the meantime, an order was given that Cneius Sicinius, the pre-

tor, whose province was the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners, should raise a body of troops to be led with all expedition to Brundisium, and thence carried over into Apollonia in Epirus, in order to secure the cities on the seacoasts; so as that the consul who should have Macedonia as his province might put in his fleet with safety, and land his troops with convenience. Eumenes was detained a long time at Ægina, his wounds proving dangerous, and the cure difficult; but, as soon as he could remove with safety, he went home to Pergamus, and set on foot the most vigorous preparations for war, to which he was now stimulated by the late atrocious villany of Perseus, in addition to the ancient enmity which subsisted between them. Ambassadors soon came from Rome with congratulations on his escape from so great a danger. The war with Macedonia was deferred to the next year; on this (when the other pretors had gone away to their provinces), Marcus Junius and Spurius Lucretius, to whom the Spanish affairs had fallen, by teasing the senate with frequent repetitions of the same request, obtained at last a grant of recruits for their army. They were commanded to raise three thousand foot and one hundred and fifty horse for the Roman legions; and to levy from the allies, for the confederate troops, five thousand foot and three hundred horse: this number of forces the new pretors carried with them into Spain.

19. In consequence of the inquiries made by the Consul Postumius, a large portion of the lands of Campania, which had been usurped by private persons indiscriminately, in various parts, had been recovered to the public. Wherefore, in this year, Marcus Lucretius, plebeian tribune, published a proposal for an order of the people, that the censor should let those lands to farm; a measure which had been omitted during so many years since the taking of Capua, that the greediness of individuals might have clear room to work in. After war, though not yet proclaimed, had been resolved on, and while the senate was anxious to know which of the several kings would espouse their cause, and which that of Perseus, ambassadors came to Rome from Ariarathes, bringing with them his younger son. The purport of their message was, that "the king had sent his son to be educated at Rome, in order that he might, even from childhood, be acquainted with the manners and the persons of the Romans; and he re-

quested that they would allow him to enjoy, not only the protection of his particular friends, but likewise the care, and, in some measure, the guardianship of the public." This embassy was highly pleasing to the senate; and they ordered that Cneius Sicinius, the pretor, should hire a furnished house for the accommodation of the young prince and his attendants. Ambassadors from some of the states of Thrace attended the senate for their decision of a dispute, and requested a treaty of alliance and friendship; and they not only obtained their request, but received each of them a present to the amount of two thousand asses;* for the Romans were rejoiced at gaining the friendship of those states in particular, as they lay at the back of Macedonia. But in order to acquire a clear knowledge of every thing in Asia and in the islands, they sent ambassadors, Tiberius Claudius Nero and Marcus Decimus, with orders to go to Crete and Rhodes, to renew the treaties of friendship, and at the same time to observe whether any attempts were made by Perseus to seduce the affections of the allies.

20. While the minds of the public were in a state of extreme anxiety and suspense with respect to the impending war, a storm happened in the night, during which the pillar in the capitol, ornamented with beaks of ships, [which had been erected] in the first punic war by the consul [Marcus Æmilius], whose colleague was Servius Fulvius, was shattered to pieces, even to the very foundation, by lightning. This event was deemed a prodigy, and reported to the senate, who ordered that it should be laid before the aruspices, and that the decemvirs should consult the books. The decemvirs, in answer, directed that the city should be purified; that a supplication and prayers for the averting of misfortunes should be offered, and victims of the larger kinds sacrificed, both in the capitol at Rome and at the promontory of Minerva in Campania; and that games should be celebrated as soon as possible, in honour of Jupiter supremely good and great, during ten days. All these directions were carefully executed; and the aruspices answered that the prodigy would prove happy in the issue; that it portended extension of territory and destruction of enemies; for those beaks of ships which the storm had scattered were to be held as spoils.

* *Cl. 2s. 2d.*

There were other occurrences which occasioned religious apprehensions ; it was said, that at the town of Saturnia showers of blood fell during three successive days ; that an ass with three feet was foaled at Calatia ; that a bull, with five cows, were killed by one stroke of lightning ; and that a shower of earth had fallen at Oximum. On account of these prodigies, also, public worship was performed, and a supplication and festival observed for one day.

21. The consuls were not yet gone to their provinces ; for they would not comply with the senate in proposing the business respecting Marcus Popillius ; and, on the other hand, the senate was determined to proceed on no other until that was done. The general resentment against Popillius was aggravated by a letter received from him, in which he mentioned that he had, as proconsul, fought a second battle with the Ligurians of Statiella, ten thousand of whom he had killed, and that the rest of the Ligurian states (no doubt provoked at the injustice of this attack) had all taken arms. On this the most severe animadversions were uttered in the senate, not only against the absent Popillius, for having, contrary to all laws, human and divine, made war on people who had submitted to terms, and stirred up to rebellion states that were disposed to live in peace, but also against the consuls, for not having proceeded to that province. Encouraged by the unanimous opinion of the senators, two plebeian tribunes, Marcus Marcius Sermo and Quintus Marcius Sylla, declared publicly that they would institute a suit for a fine to be laid on the consuls if they did not repair to their station. They likewise read before the senate a proposal for an order of the people respecting the Ligurians, which they intended to publish. The purport of it was, that "it should be decreed, that in case any of the surrendered Statiellans should not be restored to liberty before the calends of August then next ensuing, the senate, on oath, should appoint a magistrate to inquire into the business, and to punish the person through whose wicked practices he had been brought into slavery ;" and accordingly, by direction of the senate, they issued the same. Before the departure of the consuls the senate gave audience, in the temple of Bellona, to Caius Cicereius, pretor of the former year. After recounting his services in Corsica, he demanded a triumph ; but this being refused, he rode in state on the Alban mount ; a mode of celebration for victory with-

out public authority which had now become usual. The people, with universal approbation, passed and ratified the order proposed by Marcius respecting the Ligurians; and, in pursuance thereof, Caius Licinius, pretor, desired the senate to appoint a person to conduct the inquiry according to the order; whereon the senate directed that he himself should conduct it.

22. The consuls repaired at last to their province, and received the command of the army from Marcus Popillius. But the latter did not dare to go home to Rome; for he dreaded the being brought to trial while the senate were so highly displeased with him, the people still more exasperated, and before a pretor likewise who had taken the opinion of the senate on an inquiry pointed against him. Against this design to evade a trial, the plebeian tribunes employed the menace of another order,—that if he did not come into the city of Rome before the ides of November, Caius Licinius should judge and determine respecting him, though absent. This drew him home in spite of his reluctance; and when he appeared in the senate he was received with the strongest marks of displeasure and resentment. His conduct was arraigned by many of the members in the bitterest terms; and a decree was passed, that the pretors Caius Licinius and Cneius Sicinius should take care that all such of the Ligurians as had not been in open arms since the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius, should be restored to liberty; and that the Consul Caius Popillius should assign them lands on the farther side of the Po. By this decree many thousands were so restored, led beyond the Po, and received portions of land accordingly. The trial of Marcus Popillius, on the Marcian law, was twice brought to a hearing before Caius Licinius; but at a third hearing the pretor, overcome by his regard for the absent consul, and the prayers of the Popillian family, ordered the defendant to appear on the ides of March, on which day the new magistrates were to enter into office; so that, being then in a private capacity, he could not preside at the trial. Thus was the order of the people respecting the Ligurians eluded by artifice.

23. There were at this time in Rome ambassadors from Carthage, and also from Gulussa, son of Masinissa, between whom very warm disputes passed in presence of the senate. The Carthaginians complained that “besides the district

about which ambassadors were formerly sent from Rome to determine the matter on the spot, Masinissa had, within the last two years, by force of arms, possessed himself of more than seventy towns and forts in the Carthaginian territories. This was easy for him, who suffered no consideration to restrain him. But the Carthaginians, being tied down by treaty, were silent; for they were prohibited from carrying arms beyond their own frontiers; and although they knew that, if they forced the Numidians thence, the war would be waged within their own territory, yet they were deterred by another clause in the treaty too clear to be mistaken, in which they were expressly forbidden to wage war against the allies of the Roman people. But things were come to such a pass, that the Carthaginians could not longer endure his pride, his cruelty, and his avarice. They were sent," they said, "to beseech the senate to grant them one of these three things: either that they, as a common ally, should, on a fair discussion, determine what was the right of each; or give permission to the Carthaginians to defend themselves, in a just war, against unjust attacks; or, finally, if favour swayed more with them than the truth, to fix at once how much of the property of others they wished should be bestowed on Masinissa. Their grants would at all events be more moderate than his usurpations, and the extent of them would be ascertained; whereas he would set no limits but the arbitrary dictates of his own ambition. If they could obtain none of these, and if they had, since the peace granted by Publius Scipio, been guilty of any transgression, they begged that the Romans themselves would rather inflict the punishment. They preferred a secure bondage, under Roman masters, to a state of freedom exposed to the injustice of Masinissa. It was better for them to perish at once, than to continue to breathe under the will of an executioner." Having spoken thus, they burst into tears, prostrated themselves on the ground, and in this posture excited both compassion for themselves, and [no less displeasure] against the king.

24. It was then voted that Gulussa should be asked what answer he had to make to these charges; or that, if it were more agreeable to him, he should first tell on what business he had come to Rome. Gulussa said that "it was hard for him to speak on subjects concerning which he had no instructions from his father; and that it would have been hard for his father

to have given instructions when the Carthaginians neither disclosed the business which they intended to bring forward, nor even their design of going to Rome. That they had, for several nights, held private consultations in the temple of *Æsculapius*, from whence ambassadors were despatched with secret information to Rome. This was his father's reason for sending him into Italy, that he might entreat the senate not to give credit to imputations laid by their common foe against him, whom they hated for no other cause than his inviolable fidelity to the Roman people." After hearing both parties, the senate, on the question being put respecting the demands of the Carthaginians, ordered this answer to be given: that "it was their will that *Gulussa* should, without delay, return to *Numidia*, and desire his father to send ambassadors immediately to the senate to answer the complaints of the Carthaginians, and to give notice to that people to come and support their allegation. All the honour in their power they had hitherto paid to *Masinissa*, and would continue to pay him; but they did not give him a privilege of screening misconduct under their favour. Their wish was that the lands should everywhere be possessed by the real owners; nor did they intend that new boundaries should be established, but that the old ones should be observed. When they vanquished the Carthaginians, they left them in possession of cities and lands, not with the purpose of stripping them by acts of injustice in time of peace, of what they had not taken from them by the right of war." With this answer the Carthaginians and the prince were dismissed. The customary presents were sent to both parties, and the other attentions which hospitality required were performed with all courtesy.

25. About this time *Cneius Servilius Cæpio*, *Appius Claudius Centho*, and *Titus Annius Luscus*, who had been sent ambassadors to *Macedonia* to demand restitution and renounce the king's friendship, returned, and inflamed to a greater height the resentment already entertained by the senate against *Perseus*, by relating in order all that they had seen and heard. They said that "through all the cities of *Macedonia* they saw preparations for war carried on with the utmost diligence. When they arrived at the residence of the king, they were refused admission to him for many days; at the end of which, despairing of meeting with him, they left the place, and were then, at last, called back from their

journey and introduced to him. The topics on which they insisted in their discourse were, the treaty concluded with Philip, and, after his father's death, renewed with himself; in which he was expressly prohibited from carrying his arms beyond his own dominions, and likewise from making war on the allies of the Roman people. They then laid before him, in order, the true and well-authenticated accounts which they themselves had lately heard from Eumenes in the senate. They took notice, besides, of his having held a secret consultation in Samothracia with ambassadors from the states of Asia; and told him that for these injuries the senate expected satisfaction to be given, as well as restitution, to them and their allies, of their property, which he held contrary to the tenour of the treaty. On this the king spoke at first with great vehemence, frequently upbraiding the Romans with pride and avarice, and with sending ambassadors one after another to pry into his words and actions; expecting that, in every case, he would speak and act in compliance with their dictates, and obedient to their nod. After speaking a long time with great loudness and violence, he ordered them to return the next day, for he intended to give his answer in writing. This he accordingly delivered to them; of which the purport was, that the treaty concluded with his father in no respect concerned him; that he had suffered it to be renewed, not because he approved of it, but because, being so lately come to the throne, he was obliged to acquiesce in every thing. If they chose to form a new engagement with him, the terms ought first to be agreed on; if they were satisfied to treat on an equal footing, he would consider what was to be done on his part, and he doubted not but they would be careful enough of the interest of their own state. After this he hastily turned away, and they were desired to quit the palace. They then declared that they renounced his friendship and alliance, at which he was highly exasperated; halted, and, with a loud voice, charged them to quit his dominions within three days. They departed accordingly; and neither on their coming, nor while they stayed, was any kind of attention or hospitality shown them." The Thessalian and Ætolian ambassadors were then admitted to audience. The senate, wishing to know as soon as possible what commanders were to be employed in the service of the state, voted that a letter should be sent to the consuls, direct-

ing that whichever of them was most able should come to Rome to elect magistrates.

26. The consuls during that year performed no exploits that deserved much notice. As the Ligurians had been highly exasperated, it was thought the most eligible plan to pacify and appease them. While the public were looking forward to a Macedonian war, ambassadors from Issa gave them reason to suspect the inclinations of Gentius, King of Illyria; for they complained that "he had a second time ravaged their country;" affirming, likewise, that "the kings of Macedonia and Illyria lived on terms of the closest intimacy; that both were preparing, in concert, for war against the Romans; and that there were then in Rome Illyrian spies, under the appearance of ambassadors, and who were sent thither by the advice of Perseus." The Illyrians, being called before the senate, said that they were sent by their king to justify his conduct, if the Issans should make any complaint against him. They were then asked why they had not applied to some magistrate, that they might, according to their regular practice, be furnished with lodging and entertainment, that their arrival might be known, and the business on which they came; but not giving a satisfactory answer, they were ordered to retire out of the senate-house. It was not thought proper to give them any answer as delegates, because they had not applied for an audience of the senate; but a resolution passed, that ambassadors should be sent to the king, to acquaint him with the complaints made by the allies, of his having ravaged their country; and to represent to him the impropriety of his conduct. On this embassy were sent Aulus Terentius Varro, Caius Plætorius, and Caius Cicereius. The ambassadors who had been sent to the several kings in alliance with the state came home from Asia, and reported that "they had conferred there with Eumenes; in Syria with Antiochus; and at Alexandria with Ptolemy; all of whom, though strongly solicited by embassies from Perseus, remained perfectly faithful to their engagements, and gave assurances of their readiness to execute every order of the Roman people. That they had also visited the allied states; that all were firm in their attachment except the Rhodians, who seemed to be wavering, and infected by the counsels of Perseus." Ambassadors had come from the Rhodians to exculpate them from the imputations which they

knew were openly urged against them, but a resolution was made that "they should have audience of the senate when the new magistrates came into office."

27. It was judged necessary to make immediate preparations for war. A commission was accordingly given to Caius Licinius, pretor, to refit as many as could be made serviceable of the old quinqueremes which lay in the docks at Rome, to make up a fleet of fifty ships, and, if he were at a loss for any to complete that number, to write to his colleague Caius Memmius, in Sicily, directing him to repair and fit out such vessels as were in that province, so as that they might be sent with all expedition to Brundisium. Caius Licinius, pretor, was ordered to enlist Roman citizens of the rank of freedmen's sons, to man twenty-five ships; Caius Sicinius to levy from the allies an equal number for the other twenty-five, and likewise to require from the Latine confederates eight thousand foot and four hundred horse. Aulus Atilius Serranus, who had been pretor the year before, was commissioned to receive these troops at Brundisium, and transport them to Macedonia: and Cneius Sicinius, the pretor, to keep them in readiness for embarkation. By direction of the senate, Caius Licinius, the pretor, wrote to the Consul Caius Popillius, to order the second legion, which was the oldest then in Liguria, together with four thousand foot and two hundred horse of the Latine nation, to be in Brundisium on the ides of February. With this fleet and this army Cneius Sicinius, being continued a year in command for the purpose, was ordered to take care of the province of Macedonia until a new governor should arrive. All these measures, voted by the senate, were vigorously executed: thirty-eight quinqueremes were drawn out of the docks and given to Lucius Porcius Licinius, to be conducted to Brundisium, and twelve were sent from Sicily; three commissaries were despatched into Apulia and Calabria, to buy up corn for the fleet and army; these were Sextus Digitius, Titus Juventius, and Marcus Cæcilius. When all things were in readiness, the Pretor Cneius Sicinius, in his military robes, set out from the city and went to Brundisium.

28. The Consul Caius Popillius came home to Rome when the year had almost expired, much later than had been directed by the vote of the senate; for he had been ordered, in consideration of such an important war impending, to elect

magistrates as soon as possible. For this reason the consul's recital, in the temple of Bellona, of his services performed in Liguria, was not favourably listened to by the senate. He was frequently interrupted, and asked why he had not restored to liberty the Ligurians who had been oppressed by his brother? The election was held on the day appointed by proclamation, the twelfth before the calends of March. The consuls chosen were Publius Licinius Crassus and Caius Cassius Longinus. Next day were elected pretors, Caius Sulpicius Galba, Lucius Furius Philus, Lucius Canuleius Dives, Caius Lucretius Gallus, Caius Caninius Rebilus, and Lucius Villius Annalis. The provinces decreed to these pretors were the two civil jurisdictions in Rome, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia; and one of them was kept disengaged, that he might be employed wherever the senate should direct. The consuls elect received orders from the senate to offer a sacrifice, with victims of the larger kinds, on the day of their entering into office; and to pray to the gods that the war which the Roman people intended to engage in might prove fortunate in the issue. On the same day the senate passed an order that the Consul Caius Popillius should vow games, of ten days' continuance, to Jupiter supremely good and great, with offerings, in all the temples, if the commonwealth should remain for ten years in its present state. Pursuant to this vote, the consul made a vow in the capitol that the games should be celebrated and the offerings made, at such expense as the senate should direct; and the vow was expressed in terms dictated by Lepidus, the chief pontiff, in the presence of not less than one hundred and fifty persons. There died this year, of the public priests, Lucius Æmilius Papus, decemvir of religious rites, and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, a pontiff, who had been censor the year before. The latter ended his life in a shocking manner: he had received an account that, of his two sons who were in the army in Illyria, one was dead, and the other labouring under a heavy and dangerous malady: his grief and fears together overwhelmed his reason, and his servants, on going into his chamber in the morning, found him hanging by a rope. It was generally believed that, since his censorship, his understanding had not been sound; and it was now said that the resentment of Juno Lacinia, for the spoil committed on her temple, had caused the derangement of his intellects. Marcus Valerius Messala was substi-

tuted decemvir in the place of *Æmilius*; and *Oneius Domitius Ænobarbus*, though a mere youth, was chosen into the priesthood as pontiff, in the room of *Fulvius*.

29. In this consulate of *Publius Licinius* and *Caius Cassius* [A. U. C. 581. B. C. 171], not only the city of Rome, but the whole of Italy, with all the kings and states both in Europe and in Asia, had their attention fixed on the approaching war between Rome and Macedonia. *Eumenes* was instigated against *Perseus*, not only by an old hatred, but also by recent anger, for having been, through his nefarious contrivance, almost slaughtered, like a victim, at Delphi. *Prusias*, King of Bithynia, resolved to keep clear of hostilities, and to wait the event; for as he did not think it proper to carry arms on the side of the Romans against his wife's brother, so he trusted that, in case of *Perseus* proving victorious, his favour might be secured through the means of his sister. *Ariarathes*, King of Cappadocia, besides having in his own name promised aid to the Romans, had, ever since his connexion of affinity with *Eumenes*, united with him in all his plans, whether of war or peace. *Antiochus*, indeed, entertained designs on the kingdom of Egypt, and despising the unripe age of *Ptolemy*, and the inactive disposition of his guardians, thought he might, by raising a dispute about *Cœlesyria*, find sufficient pretext for proceeding to extremities, and carry on a war there, without any impediment, while the Roman arms were employed against Macedonia: yet, by his ambassadors to the senate, and to their ambassadors sent to him, he made the fairest promises. The King of Egypt, too young to determine for himself, was directed by others; and his guardians, at the same time while they were preparing for war with *Antiochus*, to secure possession of *Cœlesyria*, promised the Romans every support in the war against Macedonia. *Masinissa* not only furnished supplies of corn to the Romans, but prepared to send into the field to their assistance a body of troops, and a number of elephants, with his son *Misagenes*. He so arranged his plans as to answer every event that might take place; for, if success should attend the Romans, he judged that his own affairs would rest in their present state, and that he ought to seek for nothing farther, as the Romans would not suffer violence to be offered to the Carthaginians; and, if the power of the Romans, which at that time protected the Carthaginians, should be reduced,

then all Africa would be his own. Gentius, King of Illyria, had indeed given cause of suspicion to the Romans; but he had not yet determined which party to espouse, and it was believed that he would join either one or the other through some sudden impulse of passion, rather than from any rational motive. Cotys, the Thracian king of the Odrysians, declared openly in favour of the Macedonians.

30. Such were the inclinations of the several kings; while in the free nations and states the plebeians, favouring as usual the weaker cause, were almost universally inclined to the Macedonians and their king; but among the nobles might be observed different views. One party were so warmly devoted to the Romans, that, by the excess of their zeal, they diminished their own influence. Of these a few were actuated by their admiration of the justice of the Roman government; but by far the greater number by the hope that their distinguished exertions would procure them a large share of power in their several states. A second party wished to court the king's favour by every compliance, some of them being driven headlong into every scheme of innovation by their debts, and despair of retrieving their circumstances while the public affairs remained in their present state; and others, through a fickleness of temper, following Perseus as the more popular character. A third party, the wisest and the best, wished, in case of being allowed the choice of a master, to live under the Romans rather than under the king. Yet, could they have had the free disposal of events, it was their wish that power should not be acquired from the ruin of either party, but rather that both, with their strength unimpaired, should continue in peace on an equal footing; for thus the condition of their states would be the happiest, as they would always be protected by one from any ill treatment intended by the other. Judging thus, without declaring their sentiments, they viewed in safety the contest between the partisans of the two contending powers. The consuls, having, on the day of their commencement in office, in compliance with the order of the senate, sacrificed victims of the larger kinds in all the temples where the lectisternium was usually celebrated for the greater part of the year, and having from them collected omens that their prayers were accepted by the immortal gods, reported that the sacrifices had been duly performed, and prayers offered respecting the war.

The aruspices declared that, "if any new undertaking was intended, it ought to be proceeded in without delay; that victory, triumphs, and extension of empire were portended." The senate then resolved that "the consuls should, on the first proper day, propose to the people assembled by centuries,—that whereas Perseus, son of Philip, and King of Macedonia, contrary to the league struck with his father, and after Philip's death renewed with himself, had committed hostilities on the allies of Rome, had wasted their lands, and seized their towns, and also had formed a design of making war on the Roman people: that he had, for that purpose, prepared arms, troops, and a fleet; and therefore, unless he gave satisfaction concerning those matters, that war should be proclaimed against him." The question was passed by the people in the affirmative: on which the senate decreed that "the consuls should settle between themselves, or cast lots for the provinces of Italy and Macedonia; that the one to whose lot Macedonia fell should seek redress, by force of arms, from King Perseus, and all who concurred in his designs, unless they made amends to the Roman people."

31. It was ordered that four new legions should be raised, two for each consul. For the service in Macedonia, it was judged proper to exceed the usual standard. Instead, therefore, of five thousand foot and two hundred horse assigned to the consul's legions according to the ancient practice, six thousand foot and three hundred horse were ordered to be enlisted for each of the legions that were to serve in Macedonia. Of the allied troops, also, the number was augmented in the army ordered into Macedonia,—namely, sixteen thousand foot and eight hundred horse, besides the six hundred horsemen carried thither by Cneius Sicinius. For Italy, twelve thousand foot and six hundred horse of the allies were deemed sufficient. In another instance, an extraordinary degree of attention was shown to the service in Macedonia; for the consul was authorized to enlist veteran centurions and soldiers, whom he chose as old as fifty years. An unusual mode of proceeding, with regard to the military tribunes, was also introduced on the same occasion; for the consuls, by direction of the senate, recommended to the people that, for that year, the military tribunes should not be created by their suffrages; but that the consuls and pretors should have full power to choose and appoint them. The

pretors had their several commands assigned them in the following manner: he to whose lot it fell to be employed wherever the senate should direct, had orders to proceed to Brundisium to the fleet; to review the crews, and, dismissing such men as appeared unfit for the service, to enlist in their places sons of freedmen, taking care that two thirds should be Roman citizens, and the remainder allies. For supplying provisions to the ships and legions from Sicily and Sardinia, it was resolved that the pretors who obtained the government of those provinces should be enjoined to levy a second tenth on the inhabitants, and to take care to have the corn conveyed into Macedonia to the army. The lots gave Sicily to Caius Caninius Rebilus; Sardinia, to Lucius Furius Philus; Spain, to Lucius Canuleius; the city jurisdiction, to Caius Sulpicius Galba; and the foreign, to Lucius Villius Annalis. The lot of Caius Lucretius Gallus was to be employed wherever the senate should direct.

32. The consuls had a slight dispute about their provinces. Cassius said that "he would take the command against Macedonia without casting lots; nor could his colleague, without perjury, abide their determination. When he was pretor, to avoid going to his province, he made oath in the public assembly that he had sacrifices to perform on stated days, in a stated place, and that they could not be duly performed in his absence; and, surely, they could no more be performed duly in his absence when he was consul than when he was pretor. If the senate thought proper to pay more regard to what Publius Licinius wished in his consulship than to what he had sworn in his pretorship, he himself, for his part, would at all events be ruled by that body." When the question was put, the senators thought it would be a degree of arrogance in them to refuse a province to him whom the Roman people had not refused to elect to the consulship. They, however, ordered the consuls to cast lots. Macedonia fell to Publius Licinius, Italy to Caius Cassius. They then cast lots for the legions; when it fell to the lot of the first and third to go over into Macedonia; and of the second and fourth to remain in Italy. In making the levies, the consuls took unusual pains. Licinius enlisted even veteran centurions and soldiers; and many of them offered themselves voluntarily, as they saw that those men who had served in the former Macedonian war or in Asia had become rich. When the military

tribunes cited the centurions, and especially those of the highest rank, twenty-three of them, who had held the first posts, appealed to the tribunes of the people. Two of that body, Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, wished to refer the matter to the consuls; "the cognizance of it belonging properly to those who had the charge of the levies and of the war;" but the rest declared, that since the appeal had been made to them, they would examine into the affair; and, if there were any injustice in the case, would support their fellow-citizens.

33. The business, therefore, came into the court of the tribunes. There the consul and the centurions attended with Marcus Popilius, a man of consular rank, as advocate for the centurions. The consul then required that the matter might be discussed in a general assembly; and, accordingly, the people were summoned. On the side of the centurions, Marcus Popilius, who had been consul two years before, argued thus: that "as military men, they had served out their regular time, and that their strength was now spent through age and continual hardships. Nevertheless, they did not refuse to give the public the benefit of their services; they only entreated that they might be favoured so far as not to be appointed to posts inferior to those which they had formerly held in the army." The Consul Publius Licinius first ordered the decree of the senate to be read, in which war was determined against Perseus; and then the other, which directed that as many veteran centurions as could be procured should be enlisted for that war; and that no exemption from the service should be allowed to any one who was not upwards of fifty years of age. He then entreated that, "at a time when a new war was breaking out so near to Italy, and with a most powerful king, they would not obstruct the military tribunes in making the levies, or prevent the consul from assigning to each person such a post as best suited the convenience of the public; and that, if any doubt should arise in the proceedings, it might be referred to the decision of the senate."

34. When the consul had said all that he thought proper, Spurius Ligustinus, one of those who had appealed to the plebeian tribunes, requested permission from the consul and tribunes to speak a few words to the people; and all having consented, he spoke, we are told, to this effect: "Romans, my name is Spurius Ligustinus; I am of the Crustumian

tribe, and of a family originally Sabine. My father left me one acre of land, and a small cottage, in which I was born and educated, and where I now dwell. As soon as I came to man's estate, my father married me to his brother's daughter, who brought nothing with her but independence and modesty; except, indeed, a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited a wealthier family. We have six sons and two daughters; the latter are both married; of our sons, four are grown up to manhood, the other two are yet boys. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedonia, I served as a common soldier against Philip two years; and in the third year, Titus Quintius Flamininus, in reward of my good conduct, gave me the command of the tenth company of spearmen. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went a volunteer with the Consul Marcus Porcius into Spain. That no one commander living was a more accurate observer and judge of merit, is well known to all who have had experience of him, and of other generals, in a long course of service. This commander judged me deserving of being set at the head of the first company of spearmen. A third time I entered a volunteer in the army which was sent against the Ætolians and King Antiochus; and Manius Acilius gave me the command of the first company of first-rank men. After Antiochus was driven out of the country, and the Ætolians were reduced, we were brought home to Italy, where I served the two succeeding years in legions that were raised annually. I afterward made two campaigns in Spain; one under Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, the other under Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, pretors. Flaccus brought me with him, among others, to attend his triumph, out of regard to our good services. It was at the particular request of Tiberius Gracchus that I went with him to his province. Four times within a few years was I first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times I was honoured by my commanders with presents for good behaviour. I have received six civic crowns; I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army; and I am upwards of fifty years of age. But, if I had neither served out all my campaigns, nor was entitled to exemption on account of my age, yet, Publius Licinius, as I can supply you with four soldiers instead of myself, I might reasonably expect

to be discharged. But what I have said I wish you to consider merely as a state of my case ; as to offering any thing as an excuse from service, that is what I will never do, so long as any officer enlisting troops shall believe me fit for it. What rank the military tribunes may think I deserve they themselves can best determine. That no one in the army may surpass me in a zealous discharge of duty, I shall use my best endeavours ; and that I have always acted on that principle, my commanders and my comrades can testify. And now, fellow-soldiers, you who assert your privilege of appeal, as you have never, in your youthful days, done any act contrary to the directions of the magistrates and the senate, so will it be highly becoming in you to show yourselves obedient to their orders, and to think every post honourable in which you can act for the defence of the commonwealth."

35. Having finished his speech, he was highly commended by the consul, who led him from the assembly into the senate-house, where, by order of the senate, he again received public thanks ; and the military tribunes, in consideration of his meritorious behaviour, made him first centurion in the first legion. The rest of the centurions, dropping the appeal, enlisted without farther demur. That the magistrates might the sooner go into their provinces, the Latine festival was celebrated on the calends of June ; and, as soon as that solemnity was ended, Caius Lucretius, the pretor, after sending forward every thing requisite for the fleet, went to Brundisium. Besides the armies which the consuls were forming, Caius Sulpicius Galba, the pretor, was commissioned to raise four city legions, with the regular number of foot and horse, and to choose out of the senate four military tribunes to command them ; likewise, to require from the Latine allies fifteen thousand foot, with twelve hundred horse, to be held in readiness to act wherever the senate should order. At the desire of the Consul Publius Licinius, the following auxiliaries were ordered to join the army of natives and allies under his command : two thousand Ligurians ; a body of Cretan archers, whose number was not specified, the order only mentioning whatever succours the Cretans, on being applied to, should send ; likewise the Numidian cavalry and elephants. To settle concerning these last, ambassadors were sent to Masinissa and the Carthaginians,—Lucius Postumius Albinus, Quintus Terentius Culleo, and Caius Aburius ; also, to Creta,

—Aulus Postumius Albinus, Caius Decimius, and Aulus Licinius Nerva.

36. At this time arrived ambassadors from Perseus, who were not suffered to come into the city, as the senate had already decreed, and the people had ordered, a declaration of war against the Macedonians. The senate gave them audience in the temple of Bellona, when they spoke to this purport: that "King Perseus wondered what could be their motive for transporting troops into Macedonia; and that, if the senate could be prevailed on to recall them, the king would satisfactorily account for any injuries of which their allies might complain." Spurius Carvilius had been sent home from Greece by Cneius Sicinius, for the purpose of attending this business, and was present in the senate. He charged the king with the storming of Perrhæbia, the taking of several cities of Thessaly, and other enterprises, in which he was either actually employed or preparing to engage; and the ambassadors were called on to answer to those points. This they declined, declaring that they had no farther instructions. On which they were ordered to tell their king that "the Consul Publius Licinius would soon be in Macedonia at the head of an army: to him he might send ambassadors, if he were disposed to make satisfaction, but he need send none to Rome, nor would they be suffered to pass through Italy." After they were thus dismissed, a charge was given to Publius Licinius to insist on their quitting Italy within eleven days, and to send Spurius Carvilius to guard them until they embarked. Such were the transactions at Rome before the departure of the consuls for their provinces. Cneius Sicinius, who, before the expiration of his office, had been sent to Brundisium to the fleet and army, had by this time transported into Epirus five thousand foot and three hundred horse, and was encamped at Nymphæum, in the territory of Apollonia. From thence he sent tribunes, with two thousand men, to take possession of the forts of the Dassaretians and Illyrians; those people themselves having invited him to establish garrisons to secure them from the inroads of the Macedonians in their neighbourhood.

37. A few days after, Quintus Marcius, Aulus Atilius, Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Lucius Decimius, who were appointed ambassadors to Greece, carried with them one thousand soldiers to Corcyra; where

they divided the troops among them, and settled what districts they were to visit. Decimius was fixed on to go to Gentius, King of Illyria, with instructions to sound him as to whether he retained any regard for former friendship; and even to prevail on him to take part in the war. The two Lentuluses were sent to Cephallenia, that from thence they might cross over into Peloponnesus; and, before the winter, make a circuit round the western coast. Marcius and Atilius were appointed to visit Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly; they were directed to take a view afterward of Bœotia and Eubœa, and then to pass over to Peloponnesus, where, by appointment, they were to meet the Lentuluses. Before they set out on their several routes from Corcyra, a letter was brought from Perseus, inquiring the reason of the Romans sending troops into Greece, and taking possession of the cities. They did not think proper to give him any answer in writing; but they told his messenger who brought the letter that the motive of the Romans was the securing the safety of the cities themselves. The Lentuluses, going round the cities of Peloponnesus, exhorted all the states, without distinction, as they had assisted the Romans with fidelity and spirit, first in the war with Philip, and then in that with Antiochus, to assist them now, in like manner, against Perseus. This occasioned some murmuring in the assemblies; for the Achæans were highly offended that they, who, from the very first rise of the war with Macedonia, had given every instance of friendship to the Romans, and taken an active part against Philip, should be treated on the same footing with the Messenians and Elians, who had borne arms on the side of Antiochus against the Roman people; and who, being lately incorporated in the Achæan union, made heavy complaints, as if they were made over to the victorious Achæans as a prize.

38. Marcius and Atilius, going up to Gitanæ, a town of Epirus, about ten miles from the sea, held there a council of the Epirotes, in which they were listened to with universal approbation; and they sent thence four hundred young men of that country to Orestæ, to protect those whom they had freed from the dominion of the Macedonians. From this place they proceeded into Ætolia; where, having waited a few days, until a pretor was chosen in the room of one who had died, and the election having fallen on Lyciscus, who was well known to be a friend to the interest of the Romans, they passed over

into Thessaly. There they were attended by envoys from the exiled Acarnanians and Bœotians. The Acarnanians had orders to represent, that "whatever offences they had been guilty of towards the Romans, first in the war with Philip, and afterward in that with Antiochus, in consequence of being misled by the professions of those kings, they had found an opportunity to expiate : as, when their demerits were great, they had experienced the clemency of the Roman people ; so they would now, by their endeavours to merit favour, make trial of its generosity." The Bœotians were upbraided with having united themselves in alliance with Perseus ; but they threw the blame on Ismenias, the leader of a party, and alleged that "several states were drawn into that measure contrary to their own judgment." To which Marcius replied, that "this would appear ; for it was intended to give to every one of the states the power of judging for itself." The council of the Thessalians was held at Larissa. At this meeting both parties had abundant matter for mutual expressions of gratitude : the Thessalians, for the blessing of liberty conferred on them ; and the ambassadors, for the vigorous assistance afforded by the Thessalians in the wars with Philip and Antiochus. Their reciprocal acknowledgments of past favours kindled such zeal in the breasts of the assembly, that they voted every measure desired by the Romans. Soon after this meeting ambassadors arrived from King Perseus, whose principal inducement to this step was the hope he derived from a connexion of hospitality subsisting between him and Marcius, which was formed by their fathers. The ambassadors began with reminding him of this bond of amity, and then requested him to give the king an opportunity of conferring with him. Marcius answered, that "he had received from his father the same account of the friendship and hospitable connexion between him and Philip ; and the consideration of that connexion induced him to undertake the present embassy : that he had not so long delayed to give the king a meeting, could it have been done without inconvenience ; and that now he and his colleague would, as soon as it should be in their power, come to the river Peneus, where the passage was from Omolium to Dium ; of which they would send notice to the king."

39. Perseus, on this, withdrew from Dium into the heart of the kingdom, having conceived some degree of hope from the expression of Marcius, that he had undertaken the em-

bassy out of regard to him. After a few days they all met at the appointed place. The king came surrounded by a multitude both of friends and guards : the train of the ambassadors was not less numerous, for they were accompanied by a great many from Larissa, and by the delegates of many states, who had met them there, wishing to carry home information on the positive testimony of what themselves should hear. All men felt a strong curiosity to behold a meeting between so powerful a king and the ambassadors of the first people in the world. After they came within sight, on the opposite sides of the river, some time was spent in sending messengers from one to the other, to settle which should cross it ; for one party thought the compliment due to royal majesty, the other to the fame of the Roman people, especially as Perseus had requested the conference. A jocular expression of Marcius put an end to the difficulty :—" Let the younger," said he, " cross over to the elder ; the son to the father : " for his own surname was Philip. The king was easily persuaded to comply ; but then another perplexity arose about the number he should bring over with him. He thought it would be proper to be attended by his whole retinue ; but the ambassadors required that he should either come with three attendants only, or, if he brought so great a band, that he should give hostages that no treachery should be used during the conference. He accordingly sent, as hostages, Hippias and Pantaucus, two of his particular friends, and whom he had sent as ambassadors. The intent of demanding hostages was not so much to get a pledge of good faith, as to demonstrate to the allies that the king did not meet the ambassadors on a footing of equal dignity. Their salutations were not like those between enemies, but kind and friendly ; and seats being placed for them, they sat down together.

40. After a short silence Marcius began thus :—" I suppose you expect us to give an answer to your letter sent to Corcyra, in which you ask the reason why we ambassadors come attended by soldiers, and why we send garrisons into the cities ? To this question it is painful to me either to refuse an answer, lest I should appear too haughty, or to give a true one, lest to your ears it might seem too harsh. But, since the person who infringes a treaty must be reproved either with words or with arms, as I could wish that any other rather than myself should be employed in a war against you,

so I will undergo the task, however disagreeable, of uttering rough language against my friend, as physicians, for the recovery of health, sometimes apply painful remedies. The senate is of opinion that, since you came to the throne, you have acted but in one particular as you ought to have done, and that is, in sending ambassadors to Rome to renew [the treaty made with your father,—which yet it would have been better never to have renewed], they think, than afterward to violate it. You expelled from his throne Abrupolis, an ally and friend of the Roman people. You gave refuge to the murderers of Artetarus, thereby showing that you were pleased at their act, to say nothing worse; though they put to death a prince, who, of all the Illyrians, was the most faithful to the Roman nation. You marched with an army through Thessaly and the Malian territory to Delphi, contrary to the treaty. You likewise, in violation of it, sent succours to the Byzantians. You concluded and swore to a separate alliance with the Bœotians, our confederates, which you had no right to do. As to Eversa and Callicritus, the Theban ambassadors, who were slain in returning from Rome, I wish rather to inquire who were their murderers than to charge the fact on any one. To whom else than your agents can the civil war in Ætolia, and the deaths of the principal inhabitants, be imputed? The country of the Dolopians was ravaged by you in person. King Eumenes, on his way from Rome to his own dominions, was almost butchered as a victim, at the altars in consecrated ground at Delphi, and it grieves me to know the person whom he accuses. With regard to the secret crimes which the host at Brundisium states in his communication, I take for granted that you have received full accounts, both by letter from Rome and the report of your own ambassadors. There was one way by which you might have avoided hearing of these matters from me, which was, by not inquiring why we brought troops into Macedonia, or sent garrisons into the cities of our allies. When you had asked the question, it would have been more blameable to keep silence than to answer according to truth. Out of regard to the friendship derived to us from our fathers, I am really disposed to listen favourably to whatever you may say; and shall be happy if you afford me any grounds on which I may plead your cause before the senate."

41. To this the king answered :—"A cause which would

approve itself good, if tried before impartial judges, I am to submit to the opinion of judges who are at the same time my accusers. Of the facts laid to my charge, some are of such a nature that I know not whether I ought not to glory in them : others there are which I shall confess without a blush ; and others which, as they rest on bare assertions, it will be sufficient to deny. Supposing that I were this day to stand a trial, according to your laws, what does either the Brundisian informer or Eumenes allege against me, that would be deemed a well-founded accusation, and not rather a malicious aspersion ? Had Eumenes (although both in his public and private capacity he has done many grievous injuries to so many people) no other enemy than me ? Could I not find a better agent for the perpetration of wickedness than Rammius, whom I had never seen before, nor had any probability of ever seeing again ? Then, I must give an account of the Thebans, who, it is well known, perished by shipwreck ; and of the death of Artetarus, with regard to whom nothing more is alleged against me than that the persons who killed him lived in exile in my dominions. To such reasoning as this, unfair as it is, I will not object on my part, provided you will admit it on yours ; and will acknowledge that, whatever exiles have taken refuge in Rome or in Italy, you are yourselves abettors of the crimes for which they have been condemned. If you admit not this principle, as other nations will not, neither will I. In truth, to what purpose should people be allowed to go into exile, if they are nowhere to be admitted ? As soon, however, as I understood from your representations that those men were in Macedonia, I ordered that search should be made for them, and that they should quit the kingdom ; and I prohibited them for ever from setting foot on my dominions. On these articles, indeed, I stand accused as a criminal ; the others affect me as a king, and must be decided by the terms of the treaty subsisting between you and me. For if it is thus expressed in that treaty, that, even in case of war being made on me, I am not permitted to protect my kingdom, I must then confess I have infringed it, by defending myself with arms against Abrupolis, an ally of the Roman people. But, on the other hand, if it is both allowed by the treaty, and is an axiom established by the law of nations, that force may be repelled by force, how, I pray you, ought I to have acted when Abru-

polis had spread devastation over the frontiers of my kingdom as far as Amphipolis, carried off great numbers of free persons, a vast multitude of slaves, and many thousands of cattle? Ought I to have lain quiet, and let him proceed until he came in arms to Pella, into my very palace? But, allowing the justice of the war waged against him, yet he ought not to have been subdued, and made to suffer the evils incident to the vanquished. Nay, but when I, who was the person attacked, underwent the hazard of all these, how can he, who was the cause of the war, complain if they happened to fall on himself? As to my having punished the Dolopians by force of arms, I mean not, Romans, to use the same mode of defence; because, whether they deserved that treatment or not, I acted in right of my own sovereign authority: for they were my subjects, were under my dominion, annexed to my father's territories by your decree. Nor, if I were to give an account of my conduct, I do not say to you, nor other my confederates, but even to such as disapprove of a severe and unjust exercise of authority, even over slaves, would it appear that I have carried my severity against them beyond the limits of justice and equity; for they slew Euphranor, the governor whom I had set over them, after using him in such a manner that death was the slightest of his sufferings.

42. "But, it seems, when I proceeded to visit Larissa, Antron, and Pteleos (that I might be within a convenient distance to pay vows, due long before), I went up to Delphi in order to offer sacrifice; and here, with the purpose of aggravating the imputed guilt, it is subjoined that I was attended by an army, with intent to do what I now complain of your doing,—to seize the towns, and put garrisons in them. Now, call together in assembly the states of Greece through which I marched; and if any one person complain of ill treatment, offered by a soldier of mine, I will not deny that, under a pretence of sacrificing, I covered other designs. We sent aid to the Ætolians and Byzantians, and made a treaty of friendship with the Bœotians. These proceedings, of whatever nature they may be, have been repeatedly avowed by my ambassadors; and, what is more, excused before your senate, where I had several of my judges not so favourable as you, Quintus Marcius, my paternal friend and guest. But at that time my accuser, Eumenes, had not come to Rome; one who, by misrepresenting and distorting every

occurrence, rendered it suspicious and odious, and endeavoured to persuade you that Greece could not be free, nor enjoy the benefit of your kindness, while the kingdom of Macedonia subsisted. The wheel will come round; people will soon be found who will insist that Antiochus was in vain removed beyond the mountains of Taurus; that Eumenes is more burdensome to Asia than was Antiochus; and that your allies can never enjoy quiet so long as there is a palace at Pergamus: for this was raised as a citadel over the heads of the neighbouring states. Quintus Marcius and Aulus Atilius, I am aware that the charges which you have made against me, and the arguments which I urged in my defence, will have just so much weight as the ears and the tempers of the hearers are disposed to allow them; and that the question what I have done, or with what intention, is not of so much importance, as what construction you may put on what has been done. I am conscious to myself that I have not knowingly done wrong; and that, if through imprudence I have fallen into any error, the reproofs which I have now received are sufficient to correct and reform me. I have certainly committed no fault that is incurable, or deserving of punishment by war and plunder: for, surely, the fame of your clemency and consistency of conduct, spread over the world, is ill founded, if, on such causes as scarcely justify complaint or expostulation, you take up arms against kings in alliance with you."

43. Marcius for the time assented to the reasonableness of what he urged; and recommended it to him to send ambassadors to Rome, as he thought it best to try every expedient to the last, and to omit nothing that might afford any prospect of peace. It remained to be considered how the ambassadors might travel with safety; and although, to this end, it was necessary that the king should ask a truce, which Marcius wished for, and in fact had no other view in consenting to the conference, yet he granted it with apparent reluctance, and as a great favour to the persons requesting it. At that juncture the Romans had made few preparations for war; they had no army, no general; whereas Perseus had every thing prepared and ready: and if a vain hope of peace had not blinded his judgment, he might have commenced hostilities at a time most advantageous to himself and distressing to his enemies. At the breaking up of this con-

ference (the truce being ratified by both parties), the Roman ambassadors bent their route towards Bœotia, where great commotions were now beginning; for several of the states withdrew themselves from the union of the general confederacy of the Bœotians, on being told the answer of the ambassadors, that "it would appear what particular states were displeased at the forming of the alliance with the king." First, deputies from Chæronea, then others from Thebes, met the Romans on the road, and assured them that they were not present in the council wherein that alliance was resolved on. The ambassadors gave them no answer at the time, but ordered that they should go with them to Chalcis. At Thebes a violent dissension arose out of another contest. The party defeated in the election of pretors of Bœotia, resolving to revenge the affront, collected the multitude, and passed a decree at Thebes that the new Bœotarchs should not be admitted into the cities. All the persons thus exiled betook themselves to Thespiæ, where they were received without hesitation; and, the people's minds changing, they were recalled to Thebes. There they got a decree passed, that the twelve persons who, without being invested with public authority, had held an assembly and council, should be punished by banishment; and afterward the new pretor, Ismenias, a man of distinction and power, procured another, condemning them, although absent, to capital punishment. They had fled to Chalcis, and from thence they proceeded to Larissa, to the Romans; to whom they represented that Ismenias alone was to be blamed for the alliance concluded with Perseus. The contest originated in a party dispute; yet ambassadors from both sides waited on the Romans, as did the exiles, accusers of Ismenias, and Ismenias himself.

44. When they were all arrived at Chalcis, the chiefs of the other states, each by a particular decree of their own, renounced the alliance of Perseus, and joined themselves to the Romans. Ismenias recommended that the Bœotian nation should be placed under the orders of Rome: on which so violent a dispute arose, that, if he had not fled for shelter to the tribunal of the ambassadors, he would have been in the most imminent danger of losing his life by the hands of the exiles and their abettors. Thebes itself, the capital of Bœotia, was in a violent ferment, one party struggling hard to bring the state over to the king, the other to the Romans.

and multitudes had come together, from Coroneæ and Halizartus, to support the decree in favour of Perseus. But the firmness of the chiefs (who desired them to judge, from the defeats of Philip and Antiochus, how great must be the power and fortune of the Roman empire) so far prevailed on the people, that they not only passed a resolution to cancel the alliance of the king, but also, to gratify the ambassadors, sent the promoters of that alliance to Chalcis; and ordered, that the state should be recommended to the protection of the Romans. This deputation from the Thebans gave great joy to Marcius and Atilius; and they advised the states to send separate embassies to Rome to make a renewal of friendship. They required, as an essential point, that the exiles should be restored; and passed a sentence condemning the advisers of the treaty with the king. Having thus disunited the members of the Boeotian council, which was their grand object, they proceeded to Peloponnesus, first sending for Servius Cornelius to Chalcis. An assembly was summoned to meet them at Argos, where they demanded nothing more from the Achæans than the furnishing of one thousand soldiers, which were sent to secure Chalcis until a Roman army should come into Greece.

45. Marcius and Atilius, having finished the business that was to be done in Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of winter. An embassy had been despatched thence, about the same time, into Asia, to the several islands. The ambassadors were three: Tiberius Claudius, Publius Postumius, and Marcus Junius. These, making a circuit among the allies, exhorted them to undertake the war against Perseus, in conjunction with the Romans; and the more powerful any state was, the more zealous were they in their applications, judging that the smaller states would follow the lead of the greater. The Rhodians were esteemed of the utmost consequence on every account; because they could not only countenance the war, but support a great share of it by their own strength; having, pursuant to the advice of Hegesilochus, forty ships ready for sea. This man being chief magistrate, whom they call Prytanis, had, by many arguments, prevailed on the Rhodians to banish those hopes which they had conceived from courting the favour of kings, and which they had, in repeated instances, found fallacious; and to cherish carefully the alliance of Rome, the only one at that time in the world that

could be relied on for stability, whether power or fidelity were to be considered. He told them that "a war was on the point of breaking out with Perseus: that the Romans would expect the same naval armament which they had seen lately in that with Antiochus, and formerly in that with Philip: that they would be hurried, in the hasty equipment of a fleet, at a time when it ought to be at sea, unless they immediately set about the repairing and manning of their ships; and that this they ought to do with the greater diligence, in order to refute, by the evidence of facts, the imputations thrown on them by Eumenes." Roused by these arguments, they rigged and fitted out a fleet of forty ships, which they showed to the Roman ambassadors on their arrival, to convince them they had not waited to be solicited. This embassy had great effect in conciliating the affections of the states of Asia. Decimius alone returned to Rome without effecting any thing, and under the scandalous suspicion of having received money from the Illyrian kings.

46. Perseus, after the conference on the banks of the Peneus, retired into Macedonia, and sent ambassadors to Rome, to carry on the negotiation for peace commenced with Marcius, giving them letters to be delivered at Byzantium and Rhodes. The purport of all the letters was the same; that he had conferred with the Roman ambassadors; what he had heard from them, and what he had said, was, however, represented in such colours as that he might seem to have had the advantage in the debate. In presence of the Rhodians, the ambassadors added, that "they were confident of a continuance of peace; for it was by the advice of Marcius and Attilius that they were sent to Rome. But if the Romans should commence their hostilities, contrary to treaty, it would then be the business of the Rhodians to labour, with all their power and all their interest, for the re-establishment of peace; and that, if their mediation should prove ineffectual, they ought then to take such measures as would prevent the dominion of the whole world from coming into the hands of one only nation. That, as this was a matter of general concern, so it was peculiarly interesting to the Rhodians; as they surpassed the other states in dignity and power, which must be held on terms of servility and dependance if there were no other resource for redress than the Romans." Both the letter and the discourse of the ambassadors were received by

the Rhodians with every appearance of kindness ; they had, however, but little efficacy towards working a change in their minds, for by this time the best-judging party had the superior influence. By public order this answer was given :— that “ the Rhodians wished for peace ; but, if war should take place, they hoped that the king would not expect or require from them any thing that might break off their ancient friendship with the Romans, the fruit of many and great services performed on their part, both in war and peace.” The Macedonians, on their way home from Rhodes, visited also the states of Bœotia, Thebes, Coronæa, and Haliartus ; for it was thought that the measure of abandoning the alliance with the king, and joining the Romans, was extorted from them against their will. The Thebans, though somewhat displeased with the Romans, on account of the sentence passed on their nobles and the restoration of the exiles, yet suffered not their sentiments to be changed ; but the Coronæans and Haliartians, out of a kind of natural attachment to kings, sent ambassadors to Macedonia, requesting the aid of a body of troops to defend them against the insolent tyranny of the Thebans. To this application the king answered, that “ on account of the truce concluded with the Romans, it was not in his power to send troops ; but he recommended to them to guard themselves against ill treatment from the Thebans, as far as they were able, without affording the Romans a pretext for venting their resentment on him.”

47. When Marcius and Atilius returned to Rome, and reported in the capitol the result of their embassy, they assumed no greater merit for any one matter than for having overreached the king by the suspension of arms, and the hope of peace given him ; for “ he was so fully provided,” they said, “ with every requisite for the immediate commencement of war, while on their side no one thing was in readiness, that all the convenient posts might be preoccupied by him before an army could be transported into Greece ; but, in consequence of gaining so much time by the truce, the Romans would begin the war in a state of much better preparation ; whereas he would come into the field without any advantage beyond what he already possessed.” They mentioned, also, that “ they had so effectually disunited the members of the Bœotian council, that they could never again, with any degree of unanimity, connect themselves with the Macedonians.”

A great part of the senate approved of these proceedings, as conducted with consummate wisdom ; but the older members, who retained the ancient simplicity of manners, declared that, "in the conduct of that embassy, they could discover nothing of the Roman genius. Their ancestors waged war not by stratagems and attacks in the night, nor by counterfeiting flight, and returning unexpectedly on an unguarded foe, nor so as to glory in cunning more than in real valour. Their practice was to declare their intentions to the party before they entered on action ; nay, they sometimes appointed the spot whereon to fight. Actuated by these principles of honour, they gave information to King Pyrrhus of his physician plotting against his life ; and, from the same motive, they delivered, bound, to the Faliscians, the betrayer of their children. These were Romans' acts, not resulting from the craft of Carthaginians or the subtlety of Greeks, among whom it is reckoned more glorious to deceive an enemy than to overcome him by force. It sometimes happens that greater present advantages may be acquired by artifice than by bravery. But an adversary's spirit is finally subdued for ever when the confession has been extorted from him that he was vanquished, not by artifice or by chance, but in a just and open war, in a fair trial of strength, hand to hand." Such were the sentiments of the elder members, who did not approve of this modern kind of wisdom. But the majority paid more regard to utility than to honour, and passed a vote approving of Marcius's conduct in his former embassy ; at the same time ordering that he should be sent again into Greece with some ships, and with authority to act in other matters as he should judge most conducive to the public good. They also sent Aulus Atilius to keep possession of Larissa in Thessaly ; fearing lest, on the expiration of the armistice, Perseus might send troops, and secure to himself that metropolis. For the execution of this design it was ordered that Atilius should be furnished by Cneius Sicinius with two thousand foot. Publius Lentulus, who had come home from Achaia, was commissioned to take the command of a party of three hundred soldiers, natives of Italy, to fix his quarters with them at Thebes, and to endeavour to keep Boeotia in obedience.

48. After these preparatory steps were taken, the senate, notwithstanding their determination for war was fixed, yet judged it proper to give audience to the king's ambassadors

Their discourse was, principally, a repetition of what had been urged by Perseus in the conference. The point which they laboured with the greatest earnestness was the exculpating him from the guilt of the ambush laid for Eumenes; but their arguments carried no degree of conviction, the affair was so notorious. The rest consisted of apologies, and wishes for the continuance of amity. But their hearers were not in a temper to be either convinced or persuaded. They were ordered to quit the city of Rome instantly, and Italy within thirty days. Then Publius Licinius, the consul, to whose lot the province of Macedonia had fallen, was charged to appoint the day for assembling the army as early as possible. Caius Lucretius, the pretor, whose province was the fleet, sailed from the city with forty quinqueremes; for it was judged proper to keep at home, for other exigences, some of the vessels that were repaired. The pretor sent forward his brother, Marcus Lucretius, with one quinquereme; ordering him to collect from the allies the ships due by treaty, and to join the fleet at Cephalenia. He received from the Rhegians one trireme, from the Locrians two, and from the Bruttians four; and then coasting along the shore of Italy, until he passed the farthest promontory of Calabria, in the Ionian Sea, he shaped his course over to Dyrrachium. Finding there ten barks belonging to the Dyrrachians, twelve belonging to the Issæans, and fifty-four to King Gentius, he affected to understand that they had been brought thither for the use of the Romans; and carrying them all off, sailed in three days to Corcyra, and thence directly to Cephalenia. The Pretor Caius Lucretius set sail from Naples, and, passing the strait, arrived on the fifth day at the same place. There the fleet halted until the land-forces should be carried over, and until the transport vessels, which had been separated in the voyage, might rejoin it.

49. About this time the Consul Publius Licinius, after offering vows in the capitol, marched out of the city in his military robes. This ceremony, which is always conducted with great dignity and solemnity, on this occasion particularly, engaged people's eyes and thoughts in an unusual degree,—and this by reason that they escorted the consul against an enemy formidable and conspicuous both for abilities and resources. Besides, they were drawn together, not only by their desire to pay him the customary respect, but by an earnest

wish to behold the show, and to have a sight of the commander, to whose wisdom and conduct they intrusted the maintenance of the public safety. Then occurred such reflections as these: "How various were the chances of war; how uncertain the issue of the contest; how variable the success of arms; how frequent the vicissitudes of losses and successes; what disasters often happened through the unskilfulness and rashness of commanders; and, on the contrary, what advantages accrued from their judgment and valour. What human being could yet know either the capacity or the fortune of the consul whom they were sending against the enemy; whether they were shortly to see him at the head of a victorious army, mounting the capitol in triumph, to revisit the same gods from whom he now took his departure; or whether they were to give a like cause of exultation to their enemies." Then King Perseus, against whom he was going, had a high reputation, derived from the great martial character of the Macedonian nation, and from his father Philip; who, besides many prosperous achievements, had gained a large share of renown even in his war with the Romans. Besides, the name of Perseus himself was formidable, having been, ever since his first accession to the throne, the constant subject of conversation and apprehension on account of the expected war. The consul was accompanied by two military tribunes of consular rank, Caius Claudius and Quintus Mucius; and by three illustrious young men, Publius Lentulus, and two Manlius Acidinuses, one the son of Marcus Manlius, the other of Lucius. With these he went to Brundisium to the army; and sailing over thence, with all his forces, pitched his camp at Nymphæum, in the territory of Apollonia.

50. A few days before this, Perseus, having learned from his ambassadors, on their return from Rome, that every hope of peace was cut off, held a council, in which a long debate ensued. Some were of opinion that he ought to pay a tribute, or even to cede a part of his dominions, if that were insisted on; in short, that he ought not to refuse submitting, for the sake of peace, to any hardship whatsoever; and by no means to pursue measures which would expose himself and his kingdom to such a perilous hazard. For, "if he retained undisputed possession of the throne, time and the revolution of affairs might produce many conjunctures, which would enable him not only to recover his losses, but to

become formidable to those whom he now had reason to dread." A considerable majority, however, expressed sentiments of a bolder nature. They insisted that "the cession of any part would be followed by that of the whole kingdom. The Romans were in want of neither money nor territory; but they considered that all human affairs, even kingdoms and empires, are subject to many casualties. They had themselves broken the power of the Carthaginians, and settled in the neighbourhood an overpowerful king, as a yoke on their necks, while they had removed Antiochus and his future successors beyond the mountains of Taurus. There now remained only the kingdom of Macedonia near in situation, and such as might, in case of any shock being given to the power of Rome, inspire its kings with the spirit of their forefathers. Perseus therefore ought, while his affairs were yet in a state of safety, to consider well in his own mind, whether it were more advisable to give up one part of his dominions after another, until at length, stripped of all power and exiled from his kingdom, he should be reduced to beg from the Romans either Samothracia or some other island, where he might grow old in poverty and contempt: or, on the other hand, to stand forth armed in vindication of his fortune and his honour, and, as is the part of a brave man, either to endure with patience whatever misfortune the chance of war might bring on him, or by victory deliver the world from the tyranny of Rome. There would be nothing more wonderful, in the Romans being driven out of Greece, than in Hannibal's being driven out of Italy; nor, in truth, did they see how it could consist with the character of the prince, who had shown the utmost vigour in resisting the unjust designs of his brother, aspiring to the throne after he had fairly obtained it himself, to surrender it up to foreigners. That war was the proper means even for procuring peace, was so generally allowed by all the world, that nothing was accounted more shameful than to yield up a dominion without a struggle, and nothing more glorious than for a prince to have experienced every kind of fortune in the defence of his crown and dignity."

51. The council was held at Pella, in the old palace of the Macedonian kings. In conclusion, Perseus said, "Let us then, with the help of the gods, wage war, since that is your opinion;" and, despatching letters to all the commanders of

the troops, he drew together his entire force at Cytium, a town of Macedonia. He himself, after making a royal offering of one hundred victims, which he sacrificed to Minerva, called Alcide, set out for Cytium, attended by a band of nobles and guards. All the forces, both of the Macedonians and foreign auxiliaries, had assembled here before his arrival. He encamped them before the city, and drew them all up, under arms, in order of battle, in a plain. The amount of the whole was forty-three thousand armed men; of whom about one half composed the phalanx, and were commanded by Hippias of Berœa; there were then two cohorts, selected for their superior strength and the vigour of their age, out of the whole number of their shield-bearers; these they called a legion, and the command of them was given to Leonatus and Thrasippus of Eulyea. Antiphilus of Edessa commanded the rest of the shield-bearers, about three thousand men. About the same number, of three thousand, was made of Pæonians, and men from Parorea and Parstrymonia, places subject to Thrace, with Agrians, and a mixture of some native Thracians. These had been armed and imbodyed by Didas, the Pæonian, the murderer of young Demetrius. There were two thousand Gallic soldiers, under the command of Asclepiodotus; three thousand independent Thracians, from Heraclea, in the country of the Sintians, had a general of their own. An equal number nearly of Cretans followed their own generals, Susus of Phalasarna, and Syllus of Gnosus. Leonidas, a Lacedæmonian, commanded a body of five hundred Greeks of various descriptions; this man was said to be of royal blood, and had been condemned to exile in a full council of the Achæans, on account of a letter to Perseus which was intercepted. The Ætolians and Bœotians, in all not exceeding the number of five hundred, were commanded by Lycho, an Achæan. These auxiliaries, composed of so many states and so many nations, made up about twelve thousand fighting men. Of cavalry he had collected from all parts of Macedonia three thousand; and Cotys, son of Seutha, King of the Odrysian nation, had arrived with one thousand chosen horsemen, and nearly the same number of foot. The total number was thirty-nine thousand foot and four thousand horse. Most certainly, since the army which Alexander the Great led into Asia, no king of Macedonia had ever been at the head of so powerful a force.

52. It was now twenty-three years since peace had been granted to the suit of Philip ; and Macedonia, having through all that period enjoyed quiet, was become exceedingly populous, and very many were now grown up, and become qualified for the duties of the field : the unimportant wars, also, which they had sustained with the neighbouring states of Thrace, had given them exercise rather than fatigue, so that they were in continual practice of military service. Besides, as a war with Rome had been long meditated, by Philip first, and afterward by Perseus, every requisite preparation was fully completed. The troops performed some few movements, but not the regular course of exercise, only that they might not seem to have stood motionless under arms. He then called them, armed as they were, to an assembly. He himself stood on his tribunal, with his two sons, one on each side of him ; the elder of whom, Philip, was by birth his brother, his son by adoption ; the younger, named Alexander, was his son by birth. The king endeavoured to animate the troops to a vigorous prosecution of the war. He enumerated the instances of injurious treatment practised by the Romans on Philip and himself ; told them that "his father, having been compelled by every kind of indignity to resolve on a renewal of hostilities, was, in the midst of his preparations for war, arrested by fate ; that, when the Romans sent ambassadors to himself, they at the same time sent troops to seize the cities of Greece : that then, under the pretext of re-establishing peace, they spun out the winter, by means of a fallacious conference, in order to gain time to put themselves in force : that their consul was now coming, with two Roman legions, containing each six thousand foot and three hundred horse, and nearly the same number of auxiliaries ; and that, should they even be joined by the troops of Eumenes and Masinissa, yet these could not amount to more than seven thousand foot and two thousand horse." He desired them, "after hearing the state of the enemy's forces, to reflect on their own army, how far it excelled, both in number and in the qualifications of the men, a body of raw recruits, enlisted hastily for the present occasion ; whereas themselves had from childhood been instructed in the military art, and had been disciplined and seasoned in a course of many wars. The auxiliaries of the Romans were Lydians, Phrygians, and Numidians ; while his were Thracians and

Gauls, the fiercest nations in the world. Their troops had such arms as each needy soldier procured for himself; but those of the Macedonians were furnished out of the royal stores, and had been made with much care, at the expense of his father, in a course of many years. Provisions they must bring from a great distance, and subject to all the hazards of the sea; while he, besides his revenue from the mines, had laid up a store, both of money and food, sufficient for the consumption of ten years. Every advantage in point of preparation, that depended on the kindness of the gods or the care of their sovereign, the Macedonians possessed in abundance: it would therefore become them to show the same spirit which animated their forefathers; who, after subduing all Europe, passed over into Asia, and opened by their arms a new world, unknown even by report, and never ceased to conquer until they were stopped by the Red Sea, and when nothing remained for them to subdue. But the contest to which fortune now called them was not about the remotest coasts of India, but, in truth, about the possession of Macedonia itself. When the Romans made war on his father, they held out the specious pretence of liberating Greece; now, they avowedly aimed at reducing Macedonia to slavery, that there might be no king in the neighbourhood of the Roman empire, and that no nation renowned in war should have the possession of arms; for these must be delivered up to their imperious masters, together with the king and kingdom, if they chose to decline a war, and submit to obey their orders."

53. During the course of his speech, he was frequently interrupted by the exclamations of the multitude; but on his uttering the last expression their vociferations became so loud, expressing indignation and menaces against the foe, and urging him to act with spirit, that he put an end to his discourse. He only ordered them to be ready to march; because it was reported that the Romans were quitting their camp at Nymphæum; and then, dismissing the assembly, he went to give audience to deputies from the several states of Macedonia, who were come with offers of money and corn, in proportion to the abilities of each. He gave thanks to all, but declined their proffers; telling them that the royal stores were sufficient to answer every purpose. He only desired them to provide carriages for the conveyance of the engines,

and the vast quantity of missile weapons that was prepared, with other military implements. He then put his army in motion, directing his route to Eordea; and after encamping at the Lake Begorrites, advanced next day into Elimea, to the river Haliacmon. Then, passing the mountains through a narrow defile, called Cambunii, he marched against the inhabitants of the district called Tripolis, consisting of Azoras, Pythios, and Doliche. These three towns hesitated for a little time, because they had given hostages to the Larissæans; but the view of immediate danger prevailed on them to capitulate. He received them with expressions of favour, not doubting that the Perrhæbians would be induced to follow their example; and accordingly, on his first arrival, he got possession of their city without any reluctance being shown on the part of the inhabitants. He was obliged to use force against Cyretæ, and was even repulsed the first day by bodies of armed men, who defended the gates with great bravery; but, on the day following, having assaulted the place with all his forces, he brought them to a surrender before night.

- .54. Mylæ, the next town, was so strongly fortified, that the inhabitants, from the hope of their works being impregnable, had conceived too great a degree of confidence. Not content with shutting their gates against the king, they assailed him with opprobrious sarcasms on himself and on the Macedonians, which behaviour, while it provoked the enemy to attack them with greater rancour, kindled a greater ardour in themselves to make a vigorous defence, as they had now no hopes of pardon. During three days, therefore, uncommon spirit was displayed, both in the assault and in the defence.
- The great number of Macedonians made it easy for them to relieve each other, and to support the fight by turns; but on the part of the besieged, as the same persons were employed night and day, they were quite exhausted, not only by wounds, but by watching and incessant labour. On the fourth day, the scaling-ladders being raised on all sides, and one of the gates being attacked with unusual force, the townsmen, who were beaten off the walls, ran together to secure the gate, by which they made a sudden sally. This was the effect rather of inconsiderate rage than of a well-grounded confidence in their strength; and the consequence was, that, being few in number, and worn down with fatigue, they were routed by

men who were fresh ; and having turned their backs and fled through the open gate, they gave entrance to the enemy. The city, thus taken, was plundered, and even the persons of free condition who survived the carnage were sold. The king, after dismantling the place, and reducing it to ashes, removed and encamped at Phalanna, and next day arrived at Gyrton ; but understanding that Titus Minucius Rufus, and Hippias, pretor of the Thessalians, had gone into the town with a body of troops, without even attempting a siege, he passed by, and received the submission of Elatia and Gonni, whose inhabitants were dismayed by his unexpected arrival. Both these towns, particularly Gonni, stand at the entrance of the pass which leads to Tempe ; he therefore left the latter under an able guard of horse and foot, and strengthened it besides with a triple trench and rampart. Advancing to Sycurium, he determined to wait there the approach of the Romans ; at the same time he ordered his troops to collect corn from all parts that owned the enemy's authority ; for Sycurium stands at the foot of Mount Ossa, the southern side of which overlooks the plains of Thessaly, and the opposite side Macedonia and Magnesia. Besides these advantages of situation, the place enjoys a most healthful air, with abundance of water, from numerous and never-failing springs in every quarter.

55. About the same time the Roman consul, marching towards Thessaly, at first found the roads of Epirus clear and open ; but afterward, when he proceeded into Athamania, where the country is rugged, he encountered such difficulties as to be obliged to make very short marches, and endured much fatigue, before he could reach Gomphi. If, while he was leading his raw troops through such a territory, and while both his men and horses were debilitated by constant toil, the king had opposed him with his army in proper order, and at an advantageous place and time, the Romans themselves do not deny that the battle must have been attended with very great loss on their side. When they arrived at Gomphi without opposition, as they felt much joy at having effected their passage through such a dangerous road, so they conceived great contempt of the enemy, who showed such utter ignorance of their own advantages. The consul, after duly offering sacrifice, and distributing corn to the troops, halted a few days, to give rest to the men and horses ; and then, hearing that the

Macedonians were overrunning Thessaly, and wasting the country of the allies, as all were by this time sufficiently refreshed, he marched on to Larissa. Proceeding thence, when he came within about three miles of Tripolis, called Scea, he encamped on the river Peneus. In the meantime Eumenes arrived by sea at Chalcis, accompanied by his brothers Attalus and Athenæus (bringing with him two thousand foot, the command of whom he gave to the latter), having left his brother Philetærus at Pergamus, to manage the business of his kingdom. From thence, with Attalus, and four thousand foot and one thousand horse, he came and joined the consul: whither also arrived parties of auxiliaries from every one of the states of Greece, but most of them so small that their numbers have not been transmitted to us. The Apollonians sent three hundred horse and one hundred foot. Of the Ætolians came a number equal to one cohort, being the entire cavalry of the nation; those of the Thessalians acted separately. The Romans had not in their camp above three hundred horse of their own. The Achæans furnished one thousand young men, armed mostly in the Cretan manner.

56. In the meantime Caius Lucretius, the pretor and naval commander at Cephalenia, ordered his brother Marcus Lucretius to conduct the fleet along the coast of Malea to Chalcis; and going himself on board a trireme, he sailed to the Corinthian gulf, that he might as early as possible put the affairs of Bœotia on a proper footing; but the voyage proved tedious to him, particularly from the weak state of his health. Marcus Lucretius, on his arrival at Chalcis, hearing that Haliartus was besieged by Publius Lentulus, sent a messenger to him, with an order, in the pretor's name, to retire from the place: accordingly, the lieutenant-general, who had undertaken this enterprise with Bœotian troops, raised out of the party that sided with the Romans, abandoned the town. But the raising of this siege only made room for a new one; for Marcus Lucretius immediately invested Haliartus with troops from on board the fleet, amounting to ten thousand effective men, and who were joined by two thousand of the king's forces under Athenæus. Just when they were preparing for an assault, the pretor came up from Creusa. At the same time, several ships sent by the allies arrived at Chalcis: two Carthaginian quinqueremes, two triremes from Heraclea in Pontus, four from Chalcedon, a like number from Samos, and

also five quinqueremes from Rhodes. The pretor, having no enemy to oppose at sea, excused the allies from this service. Quintus Marcius also brought his squadron to Chalcis, having taken Alope, and laid siege to Larissa, called likewise Cremaste. While the affairs of Bœotia were in this state, Perseus, who, as has been mentioned, lay encamped at Sycurium, after drawing in the corn from all adjacent parts, sent a detachment to ravage the lands of the Pheræans; hoping that the Romans might be drawn away from their camp to succour the cities of their allies, and then be caught at a disadvantage. But seeing that his depredations did not induce them to stir, he distributed all the booty, consisting mostly of cattle of all kinds, among the soldiers, that they might feast themselves with plenty. The prisoners he kept.

57. Both the consul and the king held councils nearly at the same time, to determine in what manner they should begin their operations. The king assumed fresh confidence from the enemy having allowed him, without interruption, to ravage the country of the Pheræans; and, in consequence, resolved to advance directly to their camp, and not to suffer them to lie longer inactive. On the other side, the Romans were convinced that their inactivity had created a mean opinion of them in the minds of their allies, who were exceedingly offended at their having neglected to succour the Pheræans. While they were deliberating how they should act, Eumenes and Attalus being present in the council, a messenger, in a violent hurry, acquainted them that the enemy were approaching in a great body. On this the council was dismissed, and an order to take arms instantly issued. It was also resolved, that in the meantime a party of Eumenes's troops, consisting of one hundred horse, and an equal number of javelin-bearers on foot, should go out to observe the enemy. Perseus, about the fourth hour of the day, being nearly one thousand paces from the Roman camp, ordered the body of his infantry to halt, and advanced himself in front, with the cavalry and light infantry, accompanied by Cotys and the other generals of the auxiliaries. They were less than five hundred paces distant when they descried the enemy's horse, which consisted of two cohorts, mostly Gauls, commanded by Cassignatus, and attended by about one hundred and fifty light infantry, Mysians and Cretans. The king halted, as he knew not the force of the enemy. He then sent forward two troops of

Thracians and two of Macedonians, with two cohorts of Cretans and Thracians. The fight, as the parties were equal in number, and no re-enforcements were sent on either side, ended without any decided advantage. About thirty of Eumenes's men were killed, among whom fell Cassignatus, general of the Gauls. Perseus then led back his forces to Sycurium, and the next day, about the same hour, brought up his army to the same ground, being followed by a number of wagons carrying water; for, in a length of twelve miles of the road, none could be had, and the men were greatly incommoded by the dust: he also considered that if, on first sight of the enemy, an engagement should take place, they would be greatly distressed in the fight by thirst. The Romans remained quiet, and even called in the advanced guards within the rampart, on which the king's troops returned to their camp. In this manner they acted for several days, still hoping that the Roman cavalry might attack their rear on their retreat, which would bring on a battle; considering, likewise, that when they had once enticed the Romans to some distance from their camp, they could, being superior in both cavalry and light infantry, easily and in any spot face about on them.

58. Finding that this scheme did not succeed, the king removed his camp, intrenching himself at the distance of five miles from the enemy. At the first dawn of the next day, having drawn up his line of infantry on the same ground as before, he led up the whole cavalry and light infantry to the enemy's camp. The sight of the dust rising in great abundance and nearer than usual, caused a great alarm, though for some time little credit was given to the intelligence that was brought; because, during all the preceding days, the Macedonians had never appeared before the fourth hour, and it was now only sunrise. But the shouts set up by great numbers, and the men running off from the gates, soon removed all doubt of the matter, and great confusion ensued. The tribunes, prefects, and centurions hastened to the general's quarters, and their soldiers to their several tents. Perseus formed his troops within less than five hundred paces of the rampart, round a hill called Callinicus. King Cotys, at the head of his countrymen, had the command of the left wing, the light infantry being placed between the ranks of the cavalry. On the right wing were the Macedonian horse, with

whose troops the Cyprians were intermixed. Milo of Beroea had the command of these last; Meno of Antigone that of the cavalry, and the chief direction of the whole division. Next to the wings were posted the royal horsemen, and a mixed kind of troops, selected out of the auxiliary corps of many nations: the commanders here were Patrocles of Antigone, and Didas, the governor of Pæonia. In the centre was the king; and on each side of him the band called *agema*, with the consecrated squadrons of horse; in his front the slingers and javelin-bearers, each body amounting to four hundred. The command of these he gave to Ion of Thessalonica, and Timanor, a Dolopian. Such was the disposition of the king's forces. On the other side, the consul, drawing up his infantry in a line within the trenches, sent out likewise all his cavalry and light infantry, which were marshalled on the outside of the rampart. The command of the right wing, which consisted of all the Italian cavalry, with light infantry intermixed, was given to Caius Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother. On the left wing, Marcus Valerius Lævinus commanded the cavalry of the allies sent by the states of Greece, and the light infantry of the same nation; and the centre, under Quintus Mucius, was composed of a chosen body of select horsemen of the allies. In the front of this body were placed two hundred Gallic horsemen; and of the auxiliaries of Eumenes, three hundred Cyrtians. Four hundred Thessalian horse were posted at a little distance beyond the left wing. King Eumenes and Attalus, with their whole division, stood on the rear, between the rear rank and the rampart.

59. Formed in this manner, and nearly equal in numbers of cavalry and light infantry, the two parties encountered; the fight being begun by the slingers and javelin-bearers, who preceded the lines. First of all the Thracians, just like wild beasts which had been long pent up, rushing on with a hideous yell, fell on the Italian cavalry in the right wing with such fury, that even those men, who were fortified against fear both by experience in war and by their natural courage, were thrown into disorder. The footmen struck their spears with their swords; sometimes cut the hams of their horse, and sometimes stabbed them in the flanks. Perseus, making a charge on the centre, at the first onset routed the Greeks; and now the Thessalian cavalry, who had been posted in re-

serve at a little distance from the left wing, and from their situation had not been engaged, but hitherto mere spectators of the fight, when affairs took this unfortunate turn, were of the utmost service to the Greeks, whose rear was hard pressed by the enemy : for, retreating leisurely, and preserving their order until they joined the auxiliary troops under Eumenes, in concert with him they afforded a safe retreat between their ranks to the confederates, who fled in disorder, and, as the enemy did not follow in close bodies, they even had the courage to advance, and by that means saved many of the flying soldiers who made towards them. Nor did the king's troops, who in the ardour of the pursuit had fallen into confusion, dare to encounter men regularly formed, and marching with a steady pace. At this moment the king, after his success in the fight of the cavalry, might, by a small degree of perseverance, have put an end to the war. The phalanx, however, came up seasonably while he was encouraging his troops ; for Hippas and Leonatus, as soon as they heard of the victory gained by the horse, without waiting for orders, advanced with all haste, that they might be at hand to second any spirited design. While the king, struck with the great importance of the attempt, hesitated between hope and fear, Evander the Cretan, who had been employed by him to waylay King Eumenes at Delphi, seeing that body somewhat embarrassed as they advanced round their standards, ran up, and warmly recommended to him " not to suffer himself to be so far elated by success as rashly to risk his all on a precarious chance, when there was no necessity for it. If he would content himself with the advantage already obtained, and proceed no farther that day, he would have it in his power to make an honourable peace ; or, if he chose to continue the war, he would be joined by abundance of allies, who would readily follow fortune." The king's own judgment rather inclined to this plan ; wherefore, after commending Evander, he ordered the infantry to march back to their camp, and gave the signal of retreat to the cavalry. On the side of the Romans there were slain that day two hundred horsemen, and not less than two thousand footmen ; about two hundred horsemen were made prisoners ; but of the king's, only twenty horsemen and forty footmen were killed.

60. When the victors returned to their camp all were full

of joy, but the Thracians particularly distinguished themselves by the intemperance of their transports; for on their way back they chanted songs, and carried the heads of the enemy fixed on spears. Among the Romans there was not only grief for their misfortune, but the dread of an immediate attack of the enemy on their camp. Eumenes advised the consul to take post on the other side of the Peneus, that he might have the river as a defence until the dismayed troops should recover their spirits. The consul was deeply struck with the shame which would attend such an acknowledgment of fear, yet he yielded to reason; and, leading over his troops in the dead of the night, fortified a camp on the farther bank. Next day the king advanced, with intent to provoke the enemy to battle; and, on seeing their camp pitched in safety on the other side of the river, admitted that he had been guilty of error in not pushing the victory the day before, and of a still greater fault in lying idle during the night; for, even by calling forth his light infantry only, he might, in a great measure, have destroyed the army of the enemy during their confusion in the passage of the river. The Romans were delivered, indeed, from any immediate fears, as they had their camp in a place of safety; but among many other afflicting circumstances, their loss of reputation affected them most. In a council held in presence of the consul, every one concurred in throwing the blame on the Ætolians, insisting that the panic and flight took place first among them; and that then the other allied troops of the Grecian states followed their cowardly example. It was asserted that five chiefs of the Ætolians were the first persons seen turning their backs.

61. The Thessalians were publicly commended in a general assembly, and their commanders even received presents for their good behaviour. The spoils of the enemies who fell in the engagement were brought to the king, out of which he made presents,—to some, of remarkable armour; to some, of horses; and to others he gave prisoners. There were above one thousand five hundred shields; the coats of mail and breastplates amounted to more than one thousand; and the number of helmets, swords, and missile weapons of all sorts, was much greater. These spoils, ample in themselves, were much magnified in a speech which the king made to an assembly of the troops: he said, "You

have anticipated the issue of the war : you have routed the best part of the enemy's force, the Roman cavalry, which they used to boast of as invincible : for, with them, the cavalry is the flower of their youth ; the cavalry is the seminary of their senate ; out of them they choose the members of that body who afterward are made their consuls ; out of them they elect their commanders. The spoils of these we have just now divided among you. Nor have you a less evident victory over their legions of infantry, who, stealing away in the night, filled the river with all the disorderly confusion of people shipwrecked, swimming here and there. But it will be easier for us to pass the Peneus in pursuit of the vanquished than it was for them in the hurry of their fears ; and, immediately on our passing, we will assault their camp, which we should have taken this morning if they had not run away. If they should choose to meet us in the field, be assured that the event of a battle with the infantry will be similar to that of yesterday's dispute with the cavalry." Those troops who had gained the victory, while they bore on their shoulders the spoils of the enemies whom they had killed, were highly animated at hearing their own exploits, and, from what had passed, conceived sanguine hopes of the future ; while the infantry, especially those of the Macedonian phalanx, were inflamed with emulation of the glory acquired by the others, wishing impatiently for an opportunity to show their zeal in the king's service, and to acquire equal glory from the defeat of the enemy. The king then dismissed the assembly ; and next day, marching thence, pitched his camp at Mopsius, a hill situate half way between Tempe and Larissa.

62. The Romans, without quitting the bank of the Peneus, removed their camp to a place of greater safety, where they were joined by Misagenes, the Numidian, with one thousand horse and a like number of foot, besides twenty-two elephants. The king soon after held a council on the general plan to be pursued ; and, as the presumption inspired by the late success had by this time subsided, some of his friends ventured to advise him to employ his good fortune as the means of obtaining an honourable peace, rather than to let himself be so far transported with vain hopes as to expose himself to the hazard of an irretrievable misfortune. They observed, that " to use moderation in prosperity, and not to confide too much

in the calm of present circumstances, was the part of a man of prudence who deserved success; and they recommended it to him to send to the consul to renew the treaty on the same terms which had been granted to his father by Titus Quintius, his conqueror; for the war could never be terminated in a more glorious manner than by such a memorable battle, nor could any conjuncture afford firmer hopes of a lasting peace, as the Romans, dispirited by their defeat, would be more reasonable in a negotiation. But should they, with their native obstinacy, refuse to accede to reasonable conditions, then gods and men would bear witness both to the moderation of Perseus and to the stubborn pride of the others." The king's inclination was never averse from such measures, and the majority therefore approved of the advice. The ambassadors sent to the consul had audience in a full council, summoned for the purpose. They requested that "a peace might be concluded; promising that Perseus should pay the Romans the same tribute which was engaged for by Philip, and should evacuate the same cities, lands, and places which Philip had evacuated." Such were the proposals of the ambassadors. When they withdrew, and the council took them under consideration, the Roman firmness prevailed in their determination. The practice of that time was, to assume in adversity the countenance of prosperity, and in prosperity to moderate the temper. They resolved to give this answer: "That peace should be granted on this only condition,—that the king should refer himself entirely to the senate, who were to make such terms as they thought proper, and to determine concerning him and concerning all Macedonia." When the ambassadors brought back this answer, such as were unacquainted with their usual mode of acting were astonished at the obstinate perseverance of the Romans; and most people advised the king to make no farther mention of peace, for "the enemy would soon come to solicit that which they now disdained when offered." But this haughtiness, as flowing from confidence in their own strength, created no small fears in the breast of Perseus, who continued his endeavours to prevail on the consul, offering a larger sum of money if a peace might be purchased. The consul adhered inflexibly to his first answer. The king, therefore, at length despairing of success, determined to try again the fortune of war, and marched back to Sycurium.

63. When the news of this battle of the cavalry spread through Greece, it produced a discovery of the wishes of the people. For not only those who professed an attachment to the Macedonians, but the generality, who were bound to the Romans under the weightiest obligations, and some who had even felt the power and haughty behaviour of the Macedonians,—all received the account with joy; and that for no other cause than out of an unaccountable passion which actuates the vulgar, even in contests of sports, of favouring the worse and weaker party. Meanwhile, in Bœotia, the Pretor Lucretius pushed the siege of Haliartus with all imaginable vigour. The besieged, though destitute of foreign aid, excepting some young Coronæans, who had come into the town at the beginning of the siege, and without hope of relief, yet maintained the defence with courage beyond their strength. They made frequent irruptions against the works; when the ram was applied, they crushed it to the ground by dropping on it a mass of lead; and whenever those who directed the blows changed their position, they set all hands to work, and, collecting stones out of the rubbish, quickly erected a new wall in the room of that which had been demolished. The pretor, finding that he made but little progress by means of his machines, ordered scaling-ladders to be distributed among the companies, resolving to make a general assault on the walls. He thought the number of his men sufficient for this; besides, that on one side of the city, which is bounded by a morass, it would neither be useful nor practicable to form an attack. Lucretius himself led two thousand chosen men to a place where two towers, and the wall between them, had been thrown down; hoping that, while he endeavoured to climb over the ruins, and the townsmen crowded thither to oppose him, some part or other might be left defenceless, and open to be mastered by scalade. The besieged were not remiss in preparing to repel his assault; for, on the ground overspread with the rubbish, they placed fagots of dry bushes, and stood with burning torches in their hands, in order to set them on fire; that, being covered from the enemy by the smoke and flames, they might have time to fence themselves with a wall. But this plan was rendered abortive; for there fell suddenly such a quantity of rain as hindered the fagots from being kindled, so that it was not difficult to clear a passage by drawing them aside. Thus,

While the besieged were attending to the defence of one particular spot, the walls were mounted by scalade in many places at once. In the first tumult of storming the town, the old men and children, whom chance threw in the way, were put to the sword indiscriminately, while the men who carried arms fled into the citadel. Next day, these, having no remaining hope, surrendered, and were sold by public auction. Their number was about two thousand five hundred. The statues and pictures, with all the valuable booty, were carried off to the ships, and the city was razed to the ground. The pretor then led his army into Thebes, which fell into his hands without a dispute; when he gave the city in possession to the exiles and the party that sided with the Romans; selling as slaves the families of those who were of the opposite faction, and favoured the king and the Macedonians. As soon as he had finished this business in Bœotia, he marched back to the seacoast to his fleet.

64. During these transactions in Bœotia, Perseus lay, a considerable time encamped at Sycurium. Having learned there that the Romans were busily employed in collecting corn from all the adjacent grounds, and that, when it was brought in, they cut off the ears with sickles, each before his own tent, in order that the grain might be the cleaner when thrashed, and had by this means formed large heaps of straw in all quarters of the camp, he conceived that he might set it on fire. Accordingly, he ordered torches, fagots, and bundles of tow, dipped in pitch, to be got ready; and thus prepared, he began his march at midnight, that he might make the attack at the first dawn, and without discovery. But his stratagem was frustrated: the uproar among the advanced guards, who were surprised, alarmed the rest of the troops: orders were given to take arms with all speed, and the soldiers were instantly drawn up on the rampart and at the gates in readiness to defend the camp. Perseus immediately ordered his army to face about; the baggage to go foremost, and the battalions of foot to follow, while himself, with the cavalry and light infantry, kept behind, in order to cover the rear; for he expected, what indeed happened, that the enemy would pursue, and harass the hindmost of his troops. There was a short scuffle between the light infantry, mostly in skirmishing parties. The infantry and cavalry returned to their camp without any disturbance.

After reaping all the corn in that quarter, the Romans removed into the territory of Cranno, which was yet untouched. While they lay there, without any apprehension of danger, from which they thought themselves secured by the distance between the camps, and by the difficulty of the march, through a country destitute of water, as was that between Sycurium and Cranno, the king's cavalry and light infantry appeared suddenly at the dawn of day on the nearest hills, and caused a violent alarm. They had marched from Sycurium at noon the preceding day, and had left their body of foot in the next plain. Perseus stood a short time on the hills, in expectation that the Romans might be tempted to come out with their cavalry; but seeing that they did not move, he sent a horseman to order the infantry to return to Sycurium, and he himself soon followed. The Roman horse pursued at a small distance, in expectation of being able to pick up any scattered parties that might separate from the rest; but, seeing them retreat in close order, and attentive to their standards and ranks, they desisted, and returned to their camp.

65. The king, disliking such long marches, removed his camp to Mopsium; and the Romans, having cut down all the corn about Cranno, marched into the lands of Phalanna. Perseus, being informed by a deserter that they carried on their reaping there without any armed guard, straggling at random through the fields, set out with one thousand horsemen and two thousand Thracians and Cretans, and, hastening his march with all possible speed, fell on the Romans while quite unprepared. Nearly a thousand carts, with horses harnessed to them, most of them loaded, were seized, and about six hundred men were taken. The charge of guarding this booty, and conducting it to the camp, he gave to a party of three hundred Cretans, and calling in the rest of his infantry and the cavalry who were spread about killing the enemy, he led them against the nearest station where any of their troops were posted, which he supposed might be overpowered without much difficulty. The commanding officer there was Lucius Pompeius, a military tribune; who, while his men were dismayed by the sudden approach of the enemy, led them off to a hill at a little distance, hoping to defend himself by means of the advantage of the ground, as he was inferior in number and strength. There he collected his men

In a circular body, that, by closing their shields, they might guard themselves from arrows and javelins; on which Perseus, surrounding the hill, ordered a party to strive to climb it on all sides, and come to close fighting, and the rest to throw missile weapons against them from a distance. The Romans were environed with dangers in whatever manner they acted; for they could not fight in a body, on account of the enemy who endeavoured to mount the hill; and if they broke their ranks in order to skirmish with these, they were exposed to the arrows and javelins. What galled them most severely was a new kind of weapon invented in that war, and called cestrophendanon. A dart, two palms in length, was fixed to a shaft half a cubit long, and of the thickness of a man's finger, round which, as is commonly done with arrows, three feathers were tied to balance it. To throw this they used a sling, which had two beds, unequal in size and in the length of the strings. When the weapon was balanced in these, and the slinger whirled it round by the longer string and discharged it, it flew with the rapid force of a leaden bullet. When one half of the soldiers had been wounded by these and other weapons of all kinds, and the rest were so fatigued that they could hardly bear the weight of their arms, the king pressed them to surrender, assured them of safety, and sometimes promised them rewards; but not one could be prevailed on to yield. Just at this juncture, when they had determined to hold out till death, they were unexpectedly cheered by the enlivening prospect of relief. For some of the foragers, having made their escape and got back to the camp, acquainted the consul that the party was surrounded; whereon, alarmed for the safety of such a number of his countrymen (for they were near eight hundred, and all Romans), he set out with the cavalry and light infantry, joined by the newly-arrived Numidian auxiliaries, horse, foot, and elephants, leaving orders with the military tribunes that the battalions of the legions should follow. He himself, having strengthened the light-armed auxiliaries with his own light infantry, hastened forward at their head to the hill. He was accompanied by Eumenes, Attalus, and the Numidian prince Misagenes.

66. The first sight of the standards of their friends raised the distressed Romans from the lowest depth of despair, and inspired them with fresh spirits. Perseus's best plan would

have been to have contented himself with his accidental good fortune, in having killed and taken so many of the foragers, and not to have wasted time in besieging this detachment of the enemy ; or, after he had engaged in the attempt, as he was sensible that he had not a proper force with him, to have gone off while he might with safety ; instead of which, intoxicated with success, he waited for the arrival of the enemy, and sent people in haste to bring up the phalanx. But it must have come too late for the exigency. From its rapid celerity, too, the men must have engaged in all the disorder of a hurried march, against troops duly formed and prepared. The consul, arriving first, proceeded instantly to action. The Macedonians, for some time, made resistance ; but finding themselves overmatched in every respect, and having lost three hundred foot and twenty-four of the best of their horse, of what they call the Sacred Cohort (among whom fell Antimachus, who commanded that body), they endeavoured to retreat : but this was conducted in a manner more disorderly and confused than the battle itself. As the phalanx, after receiving the hasty order, was marching at full speed, it met first, in a narrow pass, the carts laden with corn, with the mass of prisoners. These they put to the sword, and both parties suffered by this encounter abundance of trouble and perplexity ; but none waited till the troops might pass in some sort of order, but the soldiers tumbled the loads down a precipice, which was the only possible way to clear the road, and the horses, being goaded, pushed furiously through the crowd. Scarcely had they disentangled themselves from the disorderly throng of the prisoners, when they met the king's party and the discomfited horsemen. And now the shouts of the men, calling to their comrades to go back, raised a scene of consternation and tumult not unlike a total rout ; insomuch that if the enemy had ventured to enter the defile, and carry the pursuit a little farther, they might have done them very great damage. But the consul, when he had relieved his party from the hill, content with that moderate share of success, led back his troops to the camp. Some authors affirm that a general engagement took place that day, in which eight thousand of the enemy were killed, among whom were Sopater and Antipater, two of the king's generals, and about two thousand eight hundred taken, with twenty-seven military standards ; that the victory was not without

loss on the side of the Romans, for that above four thousand three hundred fell, and five standards of the left wing of the allies were lost.

67. The event of this day revived the spirits of the Romans, and greatly disheartened Perseus: insomuch that, after staying at Mopsium a few days, which were employed chiefly in burying his dead, he left a very strong garrison at Gonnus, and led back his army into Macedonia. He left Timotheus, one of his generals, with a small party at Phila, ordering him to endeavour to gain the affections of the Magnesians and other neighbouring states. On his arrival at Pella he sent his troops to their winter quarters, and proceeded with Cotys to Thessalonica. There an account was received that Atlesbis, a petty prince of Thrace, and Corragus, an officer belonging to Eumenes, had made an inroad into the dominions of Cotys, and seized on the district called Marene. Seeing, therefore, the necessity of letting Cotys go home to defend his own territories, he honoured him at his departure with very magnificent presents, and paid to his cavalry two hundred talents,* which was but half a year's pay, though he had agreed to give them the pay of a whole year. The consul, hearing that Perseus had left the country, marched his army to Gonnus, in hopes of being able to take that town. It stands directly opposite to the pass of Tempe, and close to the entrance of it; so that it serves as the safest barrier to Macedonia, and renders a descent into Thessaly easy. But the city, from the nature of its situation and the strength of the garrison, was impregnable; he therefore gave up the design, and turning his route to Perrhæbia, took Mallæa at the first assault, and demolished it; and after reducing Tripolis and the rest of Perrhæbia, returned to Larissa. From that place he sent home Eumenes and Attalus, and quartered Misagens and his Numidians for the winter in the nearest towns of Thessaly. One half of his army he distributed through Thessaly in such a manner that, while all had commodious winter quarters, they served at the same time as a defence to the cities. He sent Quintus Mucius, lieutenant-general, with two thousand men, to secure Amdracia, and dismissed all the allied troops belonging to the Grecian states except the Achæans. With the other half of his army he marched into the

* 38,750*l*.

Achæan Phthiotis ; where, finding Pteleum deserted by the inhabitants, he levelled it to the ground. The people of Antrophi made a voluntary surrender, and he then marched against Larissa : this city was likewise deserted, the whole multitude taking refuge in the citadel, to which he laid siege. First the Macedonian garrison, belonging to the king, withdrew through fear ; and then the townsmen, on being abandoned by them, surrendered immediately. He then hesitated whether he should first attack Demetrias, or take a view of affairs in Bœotia. The Thebans, being harassed by the Coroneans, pressed him to go into Bœotia ; wherefore, in compliance with their entreaties, and because that country would afford better winter quarters than Magnesia, he led his army thither.

BOOK XLIII.

CHAP. 1. During that summer in which the Romans were worsted in Thessaly in one battle of the cavalry, and successful in another, the lieutenant-general sent by the consul to Illyricum having reduced by force of arms two opulent cities, gave the inhabitants all their effects, in hopes, by the reputation of his clemency, to allure to submission the inhabitants of Carnus, a city strongly fortified : but he could neither persuade them to surrender, nor hope to get the better of them by a siege. That the fatigue, therefore, which his soldiers had undergone in the two sieges might not be quite fruitless, he sacked those cities which he had spared before. The other consul, Caius Cassius, performed nothing worth mention in Gaul, the province that fell to his lot ; but made an ill-judged attempt to lead his army through Illyricum to Macedonia. His having undertaken that march the senate learned from deputies of Aquileians, who came to represent that their colony, which was new, weak, and but indifferently fortified, lay in the midst of hostile states, Istrians and Illyrians ; and to beg the senate to take into consideration some method of strengthening it. These, being asked whether they wished that matter to be given in charge to the

Consul Caius Cassius, replied, that Cassius, after assembling his forces at Aquileia, had set out on a march through Illyricum into Macedonia. The fact was at first deemed incredible, and it was generally supposed that he had gone on an expedition against the Carnians, or perhaps the Istrians. The Aquileians then said, that all that they knew, or could take on them to affirm, was, that the soldiers had been furnished with corn for thirty days, and that guides, who knew the roads from Italy to Macedonia, had been sought for, and carried with him. The senate were highly displeased that the consul should presume to act so improperly as to leave his own province, and remove into that of another; leading his army through unknown and dangerous roads, through foreign states, thereby opening for so many nations a passage into Italy. It was unanimously decreed, that the Pretor Caius Sulpicius should nominate out of the senate three deputies, who should set out that very day, make all possible haste to overtake the consul, and charge him not to engage in any war except that authorized by a vote of the senate. The three deputies accordingly left the city; they were Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, Marcus Fulvius, and Publius Marcius Rex. The fears entertained for the consul and his army caused the business of fortifying Aquileia to be postponed for that time.

2. Then were introduced to the senate ambassadors from several states of both the Spains; who, after complaining of the avarice and pride of the Roman magistrates, fell on their knees, and implored the senate not to suffer them, who were their allies, to be more cruelly plundered and ill treated than their enemies. Among other hardships, it was clearly proved that considerable sums of money had been extorted from them. A charge was therefore given to Lucius Canuleius, the pretor to whom Spain was allotted, to appoint out of the body of the senate five judges delegate, to try each person against whom demands of money might be made by the Spaniards; and that they should give the latter power to choose their patrons. The ambassadors were then called into the house; the decree of the senate was read to them, and they were ordered to select their protectors: on which they named four,—Marcus Porcius Cato, Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of Cneius, Lucius Æmilius Paullus, son of Lucius, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus. Their first application to the judges was against Marcus Titinius, who had been pretor in Hisper

Spain in the consulate of Aulus Manlius and Marcus Junius. The cause was twice adjourned, and on the third hearing the accused was acquitted. A separation took place between the ambassadors of the two provinces; and the states of Hither Spain chose for their patrons Marcus Cato and Scipio; those of Farther Spain, Lucius Paullus and Sulpicius Gallus. The states of the hither province brought to trial before the judges Publius Furius Philus; those of the farther, Marcus Matienus; the former of whom had been pretor three years before, in the consulate of Spurius Postumius and Quintus Mucius; and the latter two years before, when Lucius Postumius and Marcus Popilius were consuls. Both were accused of most heinous crimes, and the causes were adjourned; but, on the rehearing, it was represented on their behalf that they had quitted the country, and were gone into voluntary exile,—Furius to Præneste; Matienus to Tibur. There was a report, that the complainants were not suffered by their patrons to bring charges against people of high birth and power; a suspicion that was strengthened by the behaviour of the Pretor Canuleius; for he neglected that business, and applied himself to the enlisting of soldiers; and then suddenly went off to his province, lest more accusations might be brought by the Spaniards. Although past transactions were thus consigned to silence, yet the senate took some care of the interest of the Spaniards in future: they passed an order that the Roman magistrates should not have the valuation of the corn; nor should they compel the Spaniards to compound for their twentieths, at such prices as they were pleased to impose; and that officers should not be placed in command of their towns for the purpose of exacting money.

3. There came also from Spain an extraordinary embassy, from a body of men who had never before been heard of. They represented that they were the offspring of Roman soldiers and Spanish women, who had not been joined in marriage; that their number amounted to more than four thousand: and they petitioned for a grant of some town to be allotted to them for their residence. The senate decreed that they should exhibit their pretensions before Lucius Canuleius; and that as many as he should judge deserving of freedom should be settled as a colony at Carteia, on the ocean: that such of the present inhabitants of Carteia as wished to remain there should have the privilege of being

considered as colonists, and should have lands assigned them : that this should be deemed a Latine settlement, and be called a colony of freedmen." At this time arrived from Africa Gulussa, son of King Masinissa, as ambassador from his father : and likewise ambassadors from Carthage ; Gulussa was first introduced to the senate, where he gave a detail of the succours sent by his father to the maintenance of the war in Macedonia, and assured them that, if they chose to lay any farther commands on him, he would cheerfully execute them, in gratitude for the many favours conferred on him by the Roman people. He warned the conscript fathers to be on their guard against the treachery of the Carthaginians, who " had formed the design of fitting out a powerful fleet, in favour, as they pretended, of the Romans, and against the Macedonians ; but when it should be equipped and ready for action, they would have it in their power to make their own option which party they would treat as a friend, and which as a foe." * * * *

4. [During the following year [A. U. C. 582. B. C. 170], in which Aulus Hostilius Mancinus and Aulus Atilius Serranus were consuls, the Celtiberians raised disturbances in Spain, being instigated by a strange kind of leader named Olonicus. He was a man of great cunning and boldness ; and showing himself to the people, brandishing a silver spear, which he pretended was sent to him from heaven, with the agitation of a person inspired, he had attracted universal attention. Having formed the mad design of destroying the Roman general, he came to the camp with a single accomplice in the dusk of the evening, and was killed by a sentinel with a javelin. His attendant met with the same fate. The pretor immediately ordered both their heads to be cut off and fixed on spears, and to be sent thus to their camp by some of their prisoners.] When these arrived with their charge such a panic ensued, that if the Romans had instantly advanced to the camp they might have taken it : as it was, a general flight took place. Many, on this, advised to send ambassadors and supplicate for peace ; while a great number of states, on hearing of the affair, made their submission. These all asserted their innocence, laying the entire blame on the two who had suffered for their intended crime, on which the pretor granted them pardon, and proceeded immediately

to the other states, every one of which acknowledged his authority ; so that in traversing all that tract of country where, a short time before, the flames of war had raged with the greatest violence, he had not once occasion to employ his arms, but found every thing in a state of peace and quietness. This lenity shown by the pretor was the more pleasing to the senate and people, as the conduct of the Consul Licinius and the Pretor Lucretius, in the war in Greece, had been marked with uncommon avarice and cruelty. The plebeian tribunes, daily, in their speeches to the people, censured Lucretius for being absent, though it was alleged in his favour that he was abroad on the business of the public. But so little was then known of what passed, even in the vicinity of Rome, that he was at that very time at his own estate near Antium ; and with money amassed in his expedition, was bringing water thither from the river Locrina ; for the execution of which work, it is said, he had agreed to pay one hundred and thirty thousand asses.* He also decorated the temple of Æsculapius with pictures taken from among the spoils. But the current of the public displeasure and of disgrace was diverted from Lucretius, and turned on his successor, by ambassadors who came from Abdera. These stood weeping at the door of the senate-house, and complained that " their town had been stormed and plundered by Hortensius. His only reason," they said, " for destroying their city was, that, on his demanding from them one hundred thousand denariuses,† and fifty thousand measures of wheat, they had requested time until they could send ambassadors on the subject both to the Consul Hostilius and to Rome ; and that they had scarcely reached the consul, when they heard that the town was stormed, their nobles beheaded, and the rest sold for slaves." At this the senate expressed much indignation, and passed a decree respecting the people of Abdera, of the same purport with that which they had passed concerning the Coronæans. They also ordered Quintus Mænius, the pretor, to publish notice, as had been done the year before, in a general assembly. Two ambassadors, Caius Sempronius Blæsus, and Sextus Julius Cesar, were sent to restore the Abderites to liberty ; and were likewise commissioned to deliver a message from the senate to the Consul Hostilius and to the Pretor Horten-

* 419*l.* 15*s.* 10*d.*

† 3229*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*

sus, that the senate judged the war made on the Abderites to be unjust, and had directed that all those who were in servitude should be sought out and restored to liberty.

5 At the same time, complaints were made to the senate by ambassadors from Cincibilus, a king of the Gauls, against Caius Cassius, who had been consul the year before, and was then a military tribune in Macedonia under Aulus Hostilius. His brother made a speech to the senate, saying, that Cains Cassius had entirely wasted the country of the Alpine Gauls, their allies, and carried off into slavery many thousands of their people. Ambassadors came likewise from the Carnians, Istrians, and Iapidans, who represented that "the Consul Cassius, at first, after obliging them to furnish him with guides to conduct his army, which he was leading into Macedonia, had gone away in a peaceable manner, as if to carry war elsewhere; but that, when he had proceeded half way, he returned, and overran their country, committing every act of hostility, and spreading depredations and fires through every quarter; nor had they been yet able to discover for what reason the consul treated them as enemies." The absent prince of the Gauls, and the states present, were answered, that "the senate had no previous knowledge of those acts of which they complained; nor did they approve of them. But that it would still be unjust to condemn, unheard and absent, a man of consular rank, especially as he was employed abroad in the business of the public. That, when Caius Cassius should come home from Macedonia, if they chose then to prosecute their complaints against him, face to face, the senate, after examining the matter, would endeavour to give them satisfaction." It was farther resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to those nations (two to the transalpine chieftain, and three to the other states), to notify to them the determinations of the senate. They voted that presents to the amount of two thousand ~~asses~~* should be sent to the ambassadors; and to the prince and his brother, some of extraordinary value: two chains, containing five pounds' weight of gold; five silver vases, amounting to twenty pounds; two horses, fully caparisoned, with grooms to attend them, and horsemen's armour and cloaks, besides suits of apparel to their attendants, both freemen and slaves. These were pro-

* 6l. 9s. 2d.

sented to them ; and, on their request, they were indulged with the liberty of purchasing ten horses each, and carrying them out of Italy. Caius Lælius and Marcus Æmilius were sent ambassadors with the Gauls to the northern side of the Alps ; and Caius Cicinius, Publius Cornelius Blasio, and Titus Memmius, to the other states.

6. Embassies from many states of Greece and Asia arrived at Rome at the same time. The first that had audience of the senate were the Athenians, who represented that " they had sent what ships and soldiers they had to the Consul Publius Licinius and the Pretor Caius Lucretius, who did not think proper to employ their forces, but ordered the state to furnish one hundred thousand measures of corn ; and notwithstanding the sterility of the soil, and that they fed even the husbandmen with imported grain, yet, that they might not appear deficient in their duty, they had made up that quantity, and were ready to perform any other service that might be required of them." The Milesians pretended not to any past service, but promised readily to afford any assistance in the war which the senate should think proper to demand. The Alabandians said, that they had erected a temple to the city of Rome, and instituted anniversary games to her divinity ; that they had brought a golden crown of fifty pounds' weight to be deposited in the capitol, as an offering to Jupiter supremely good and great ; also three hundred horsemen's bucklers, which they were ready to deliver to any person appointed to receive them ; and they requested permission to lodge the said offering as intended, and to perform sacrifice. The same request was made by ambassadors from Lampsacus, who brought a crown of eighty pounds' weight, and represented to the senate that " they had renounced the party of Persens as soon as the Roman army appeared in Macedonia, though they had been under the dominion of that monarch, and formerly of Philip. In return for which, and for their having contributed every assistance in their power to the Roman commanders, they only requested to be admitted into the friendship of the Roman people ; and that, if peace should be made with Perseus, there might be a special clause in their favour, to prevent their falling again into his power." The rest of the ambassadors received gracious answers, and the Pretor Quintus Mænius was ordered to enrol the people of Lampsacus as allies. Presents were made to

all, two thousand asses to each. The Alabandians were desired to carry back the bucklers into Macedonia to the Consul Aulus Hostilius. At the same time came ambassadors from Africa ; those of the Carthaginians acquainted the senate that they had brought down to the seacoast a million of measures of wheat, and five hundred thousand of barley, “to be transported to whatever place the senate should order. They were sensible,” they said, “that this offer and act of duty were very inferior to the deserts of the Roman people, and to their own inclinations ; but that, on many other occasions, when the affairs of both nations flourished, they had performed the duties of faithful and grateful allies.” In like manner, ambassadors from Masinissa offered the same quantity of wheat, one thousand two hundred horsemen, and twelve elephants ; desiring, that if he could be of service in any other particular, the senate would lay their commands on him, which he would execute with as much zeal as what he had proposed himself. Thanks were returned both to the Carthaginians and to the king ; and they were requested to send the supplies which they promised into Macedonia, to the Consul Hostilius. A present of two thousand asses was made to each of the ambassadors.

7. Ambassadors of the Cretans mentioned that they had sent into Macedonia the archers demanded by the Consul Publius Licinius ; but, being interrogated, they did not deny that a greater number of these were in the army of Perseus than in that of the Romans : on which they received this answer ; that “if the Cretans were candidly and sincerely resolved to prefer the friendship of the Roman people to that of King Perseus, the Roman senate, on their part, would answer them as allies who could be relied on.” In the meantime they were desired to tell their countrymen that “the senate required that the Cretans should endeavour to call home, as soon as possible, all the soldiers who were in the service of King Perseus.” The Cretans being dismissed, the ambassadors from Chalcis were called, the chief of whom, by name Miction, having lost the use of his limbs, was carried on a litter ; which demonstrated that their business was a matter of extreme necessity, since either a man in that infirm state had not thought proper to plead ill health in excuse from being employed, or the plea had not been admitted. After premising that no other part was alive but his tongue,

which served him to deplore the calamities of his country, he represented, first, the friendly assistance given by his state to the Roman commanders and armies, both on former occasions and in the war with Perseus; and then, the instances of pride, avarice, and cruelty, which his countrymen had suffered from the Roman pretor, Caius Lucretius, and were at that very time suffering from Lucius Hortensius; notwithstanding which, they were resolved to endure all hardships, should they be even more grievous than they underwent at present, rather than give themselves up to the power of Macedon. "With regard to Lucretius and Hortensius, they knew that it had been safer to have shut their gates against them than to receive them into the city; for those cities which had so done remained in safety, as Emathæa, Amphipolis, Maronea, and Ænus; whereas in Chalcis the temples were robbed of all their ornaments. Caius Lucretius had carried off in ships, to Antium, the plunder amassed by such sacrilege, and dragged persons of free condition into slavery: the property of the allies of the Roman people was subjected to rapine, and suffered daily depredations: for, pursuing the practice of Caius Lucretius, Hortensius kept the crews of his ships in lodgings both in summer and winter alike; so that their houses were filled with a crowd of seamen, and those men who showed no regard to propriety, either in their words or actions, lived among the inhabitants, their wives, and children."

8. The senate resolved to call Lucretius before them, that he might argue the matter in person, and exculpate himself. But when he appeared, he heard many more crimes alleged against him than had been mentioned in his absence; and two more weighty and powerful accusers stood forth in support of the charges, Marcus Juventius Thalna and Cneius Aufidius, plebeian tribunes. These not only arraigned him bitterly in the senate, but dragged him out into the assembly of the people; and there, reproaching him with many heinous crimes, they instituted a legal prosecution against him. By order of the senate, the Pretor Quintus Mænius gave this answer to the ambassadors of Chalcis: that "the senate acknowledged their account of the good offices done by them to the Roman people, both on former occasions and during the present war, to be true; and that they retained a proper sense of their friendly conduct: that, as to the ill treatment which they complain-

ed of having received formerly from Caius Lucretius, and now from Lucius Hortensius, Roman pretors, it could not possibly be supposed that such things were done with the approbation of the senate. It should be considered that the Roman people had made war on Perseus, and, before that, on his father Philip, for the express purpose of asserting the liberties of Greece, and not of subjecting friends and allies to such treatment from their magistrates: that they would give them a letter to the Pretor Lucius Hortensius, informing him that the proceedings of which the people of Chalcis complained were highly displeasing to the senate; charging him to take care that all free persons who had been reduced to slavery should be sought out as soon as possible and restored to liberty; and commanding that no seamen, except the masters of vessels, should be permitted to lodge on shore." Pursuant to the senate's order, a letter to this purport was written to Hortensius. A present of two thousand asses was made to each of the ambassadors, and carriages were hired for Miction, at the public expense, to carry him commodiously to Brundisium. When the day of Caius Lucretius's trial came, the tribunes pleaded against him before the people, and demanded that he should be fined in the sum of one million of asses; * and the tribes proceeding to vote, every one of the thirty-five pronounced him guilty, and confirmed the fine.

9. In Liguria, nothing of moment occurred in that year; for the enemy made no hostile attempt, nor did the consul march his legions into their country: on the contrary, seeing a certain prospect of peace, he discharged the soldiers of the two Roman legions within sixty days after his arrival in the province, sent the troops of the Latine confederates early into winter quarters at Luna and Pisa, and himself, with the cavalry, visited most of the towns in the Gallic province. Although there was no open war anywhere but in Macedonia, yet there was reason to suspect the designs of Gentius, King of Illyria. The senate therefore voted that eight ships, fully equipped, should be sent from Brundisium to Isea, to Caius Furius, lieutenant-general, who, with only two vessels belonging to the inhabitants, held the government of that island. In this squadron were embarked four thousand soldiers, whom the Pretor Quintus Manius, in pursuance of a decree

of the senate, had raised in the quarter of Italy opposite Illyria; and the Consul Hostilius sent Appius Claudius, with four thousand foot, into Illyria, to protect the neighbouring states. But Appius Claudius, not content with the force which he brought with him, collected aid from the allies, until he made up the number of eight thousand men; and after overrunning all that country, took post at Lychnidus, in the territory of the Dassaretians.

10. Not far from hence was Uscana, a town generally deemed part of the dominions of Perseus. It contained ten thousand inhabitants, and a small party of Cretans, who served as a garrison. From this place messengers came secretly to Claudius, telling him that "if he brought his army nearer there would be people ready to put the town into his hands; and that it would be well worth his while, for he would find booty sufficient to satisfy the utmost wishes, not only of his friends, but of his soldiers." Such alluring hopes blinded his understanding to that degree, that he neither detained any of those who came, nor required hostages for his security, in a business which was to be transacted clandestinely and treacherously; neither did he send scouts to examine matters, nor require an oath from the messengers; but, on the day appointed, he left Lychnidus, and pitched his camp twelve miles from the city, which was the object of his design. At the fourth watch he set out, leaving about one thousand men to guard the camp. His forces, extending themselves in a long irregular train, and in loose disorder, were separated by mistaking their way in the night, and arrived in this state at the city. Their carelessness increased when they saw not a soldier on the walls. But, as soon as they approached within a weapon's cast, a sally was made from two gates at once. Besides the shout raised by these, a tremendous noise was heard on the walls, composed of the yells of women and the sound of brazen instruments, while the rabble of the place, mixed with a multitude of slaves, made the air resound with various cries. Struck by such a number of terrifying circumstances, the Romans were unable to support the first onset; so that a greater number of them were killed flying than fighting, and scarcely two thousand, with the lieutenant-general himself, effected their escape. The distance from the camp being great, numbers sunk under fatigue, and were overtaken by the enemy. Ap-

pies, without even halting in the camp to collect his stragglers, which would have been the means of saving many, led back directly to Lychnidus the remains of his unfortunate army.

11. These and other unfavourable occurrences in Macedonia were learned from Sextus Digitius, a military tribune, who came to Rome to perform a sacrifice. These advices having rendered the senate apprehensive of some greater disgrace ensuing, they deputed Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and Marcus Caninius Rebilus to go to Macedonia, and bring certain information of all transactions there; at the same time ordering that the Consul Aulus Hostilius should summon the assembly for the election of consuls, so that it might be held in the month of January, and should come home to the city as soon as possible. In the meantime it was resolved that the Pretor Marcus Rocius should call home to Rome, by proclamation, all the senators, from every part of Italy, except such as were absent on public business; and that such as were in Rome should not go farther than one mile from the city. All this was done pursuant to the votes of the senate. The election of consuls was held on the fourth day before the calends of February. The persons chosen were Quintus Marcius Philippus, a second time, and Cneius Servilius Cæpio. Three days after were appointed pretors, Caius Decimius, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, Caius Marcius Figulus, Servius Cornelius Lentulus, and Publius Fonteius Capito. To the pretors elect were assigned, besides the two city provinces, these four: Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and the fleet. Towards the end of February the deputies returned from Macedonia, and gave an account of the successful enterprises of Perseus during the preceding summer, and of the great fears which had taken possession of the allies of the Roman people, on account of so many cities being reduced under the king's power. They reported that "the consul's troops were very thin, in consequence of leave of absence being granted to great numbers, with the view of gaining the good-will of the men; the blame of which the consul laid on the military tribunes, and they, on the other hand, on the consul. The disgrace sustained through the rashness of Claudius," they represented as "not so considerable as was supposed; because of the men who were lost very few were natives of Italy, the greatest part being the soldiers raised in that country by an irregular levy."

The consuls elect received orders, immediately on entering into office, to propose the affairs of Macedonia to the consideration of the senate; and Italy and Macedonia were appointed their provinces. An intercalation was made in the calendar of this year, intercalary calends being reckoned on the third day after the feast of Terminus. There died of the priests during this year Lucius Flaminius [augur], and two pontiffs, Lucius Furius Philus, and Cains Livius Salinator. In the room of Furius, the pontiffs chose Titus Manlius Torquatus, and in that of Livius, Marcus Servilius.

12. In the beginning of the ensuing year [A. U. C. 583. B. C. 169], the new consuls, Quintus Marcius and Cneius Servilius, having proposed the distribution of the provinces for consideration, the senate voted that they should, without delay either settle between themselves about Macedonia and Italy, or cast lots for them; and that, before the lot should decide this matter, and while the destination of each was uncertain, lest interest might have any influence, the supplies of men requisite for each province should be ordered. For Macedonia were voted six thousand Roman foot and six thousand of the Latine allies, two hundred and fifty Roman horse and three hundred of the allies. The old soldiers were to be discharged, so that there should be in each Roman legion no more than six thousand foot and three hundred horse. The number of Roman citizens which the other consul was to enlist for a re-enforcement was not precisely determined; there was only this limitation mentioned, that he should raise two legions, each of them to contain five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse. Of Latine infantry, a larger number was decreed to him than to his colleague; no less than ten thousand foot with six hundred horse. An order was given for raising four other legions, to serve wherever occasion might require. The consuls were not allowed the appointment of the military tribunes; they were created by the votes of the people. The Latine confederates were ordered to furnish sixteen thousand foot and one thousand horse. This force was intended only to be kept in readiness to march out should any exigency demand it. Macedonia engrossed the greatest share of the senate's attention; they ordered that one thousand Roman citizens, of the rank of freedmen, should be enlisted in Italy, as seamen, to man the fleet, and the same number in Sicily; and that the pretor to whose

lot the government of the latter province fell should take care to carry these over to Macedonia, to whatever place the fleet should be stationed at. To recruit the army in Spain, three thousand Roman foot and three hundred horse were voted. With regard to that army, too, the number of men in each legion was limited to five thousand foot and three hundred and thirty horse. Besides these, the pretor to whose lot Spain should fall was ordered to levy from the allies four thousand foot and three hundred horse.

13. I am well aware that, through the same disregard of religion which has led men into the present prevailing opinion, of the gods never giving portents of any future events, no prodigies are now either reported to government or recorded in histories. But for my part, while I am writing the transactions of ancient times, my sentiments, I know not how, become antique; and I feel a kind of religious awe, which compels me to consider that events which the men of those days, renowned for wisdom, judged deserving of the attention of the state and of public expiation, must certainly be worthy of a place in my history. From Anagnia two prodigies were reported this year: that a blazing torch was seen in the air; and that a cow spoke, and was maintained at the public expense. About the same time, at Minturnæ, the sky appeared as in a blaze of fire. At Reate, a shower of stones fell. At Cumæ, the image of Apollo, in the citadel, shed tears during three days and three nights. In the city of Rome, the keeper of a temple asserted, that in that of Fortune, a snake, with a mane like that of a horse, had been seen by many; and another, that in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the hill, a palm sprung up in the court, and that a shower of blood fell in the middle of the day. There were two others not attended to; one, because it happened in a place belonging to a private person; Titus Marcus Figulus having reported that a palm sprung up in the inner court of his house; the other, because it occurred in a foreign place, Fregellæ,—where, in the house of Lucius Atreus, a spear which he had bought for his son, who was a soldier, burnt, as was said, for more than two hours, yet no part of it was consumed. The decemvirs, having consulted the books with regard to the public prodigies, directed that the consuls should sacrifice forty of the larger victims to the deities whom they pointed out; that a supplication should be performed;

and that all the magistrates should sacrifice victims of the larger kinds in all the temples, and the people wear garlands. All this was performed accordingly.

14. Then was held an assembly for the creation of censors, which office was canvassed for by several of the first men in the state; Caius Valerius Lævinus, Lucius Postumius Albinus, Publius Mucius Scævola, Marcus Junius Brutus, Caius Claudius Pulcher, and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. The two last were created censors by the Roman people in assembly. As, on account of the Macedonian war, the business of levying troops was deemed of more importance than usual, the consuls made a complaint to the senate against the plebeians, that even the younger men did not obey their summons. But, in opposition to them, Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius, tribunes of the people, pleaded in favour of the plebeians; asserting that "the levying of soldiers proved difficult, not to the consuls in general, but to such consuls as affected popularity; that these enlisted no man against his inclination; and that, to convince the conscript fathers of the truth of this, the pretors, who in their office had less power and authority, would, with their approbation, complete the levies." That business was accordingly committed to the care of the pretors by a unanimous vote of the senate, not without great murmuring on the part of the consuls. The censors, in order to forward it, published in a general assembly the following notice: that "they would make it a rule in conducting the survey, that, besides the common oath taken by all citizens, the younger part should swear, when challenged, in this manner,—You are younger than forty-six years, and you shall attend at the levy, pursuant to the edict of Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius, censors; and this too as often as there shall be a levy held by any magistrate during the aforesaid censors' continuance in office, if you shall not have been already enlisted." Also, as there was a report that many men belonging to the legions in Macedonia were absent from the army, on leave granted by the commanders, without any time limited for their return; in order to ingratiate themselves with the soldiers, they issued a proclamation concerning all who had been draughted for that country in the consulate of Publius Ælius and Caius Popilius, or since that period; that "such as were in Italy should, after being first registered by them in the survey, repair to Macedonia."

within thirty days ; and that, if any were under the power of a father or grandfather, the names of such should be notified to them. That they would also make inquiry into the cases of the soldiers who had been discharged ; and if any discharge should appear to have been obtained through favour, before the regular number of campaigns were served, they would order the persons so discharged to be enlisted again." In consequence of this proclamation, and letters from the censors being dispersed through the market-towns and villages, such multitudes of young men flocked to Rome, that the extraordinary crowd was even inconvenient to the city. Besides the re-enforcements for the armies, four legions were raised by the Pretor Caius Sulpicius, and the levies were completed within eleven days.

15. The consuls then cast lots for their provinces ; the pretors, in order to provide for the civil jurisdiction, having determined theirs before. The civil jurisdiction had fallen to Caius Sulpicius ; the foreign to Caius Decimius ; Spain, to Marcus Claudius Marcellus ; Sicily, to Servius Cornelius Lentulus ; Sardinia, to Publius Fonteius Capito ; and the fleet to Caius Marcius Figulus. Of the consuls, Servius obtained Italy for his province ; Quintus Marcius, Macedonia ; and as soon as the Latine festival could be celebrated, the latter set out. Capito then desired the senate to direct which two of the new legions he should take with him into Gaul ; when they ordered that the Pretors Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Claudius should give the consuls such of the legions which they had raised as they should think fit. The latter, highly offended at a consul being subjected to the will of pretors, adjourned the senate ; and standing at the tribunal of the pretors, demanded that, pursuant to the decree, they should assign him two legions ; but the pretors left the choice of them to the consul. The censors then called over the list of the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus was now, by the third censors, chosen prince of the senate. Seven were expelled that body. In making the survey of the people, they discovered how many of the soldiers belonging to the army in Macedonia were absent, and obliged them all to return to that province. They inquired into the cases of the men who had been discharged ; and, when any of their discharges appeared irregular in respect of time, they put an oath to them to this effect : "Do you sincerely swear that you will, without de-

ceit or evasion, return into the province of Macedonia, according to the edict of the Censors Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius?"

16. In the review of the knights they acted with much harshness and severity, depriving many of their horses; and after giving this offence to the equestrian order, they inflamed the general displeasure to a higher degree by an edict, which ordered that "no person who had farms of the public revenues, or taxes from the Censors Quintus Fulvius and Aulus Postumius, should again propose for them, nor should have any partnership or connexion in the farms then to be made." Although the former farmers made many complaints to the senate, yet they could not prevail on that body to interfere and check the power of the censors; but at last they found a patron of their cause in Publius Rutilius, a plebeian tribune, who was incensed against the censors in consequence of a dispute about a private concern. They ordered a client of his, a freedman, to throw down a wall which stood opposite to a public building in the sacred street, as being built on ground belonging to the public. The citizen appealed to the tribunes, but none of them would interfere except Rutilius; when the censors sent to seize his goods, and imposed a fine on him in a public assembly. When the present dispute broke out, and the old revenue farmers had recourse to the tribunes, a publication suddenly appeared, in the name of one tribune, of a proposed order of the people, that "all leases made of the public revenues and taxes by Caius Claudius and Tiberius Sempronius should be void: that they should all be let anew, and that every person, without distinction, should be at liberty to bid for and take them." The tribune appointed a day for an assembly to consider this matter. When the day came, and the censors stood forth to argue against the order, Gracchus was heard with silent attention: but when Claudius began to speak, his voice was drowned in noise; on which he directed the crier to cause silence, that he might be heard. This was done; and the tribune then complaining that the assembly which he had summoned was taken out of his rule, and that he was stripped of the privilege of his office, retired from the capitol, where the assembly met. Next day he raised a violent commotion. In the first place, he declared the property of Tiberius Gracchus forfeited to the gods, for having fined and seized the goods of a

person who had appealed to a tribune, and for refusing to admit his right of protest. He instituted a criminal process against Caius Claudius for the same, declaring his intention to prosecute both the censors for treason; and he demanded of Caius Sulpicius, the city pretor, that he would fix a day for an assembly to try them. The censors declared that they had no objection to the people passing their judgment on them as soon as they pleased; and the days of trial for the treason were fixed for the eighth and seventh before the calends of October. The censors went up immediately to the temple of Liberty, where they sealed the books of the public accounts, shut up the office, and dismissed the clerks, affirming that they would do no kind of public business until the judgment of the people was passed on them. Claudius was first brought to trial; and after eight out of the eighteen centuries of knights, and many others of the first class, had given sentence against him, the principal men in the state, immediately taking off their gold rings in the sight of the people, put on mourning, and in that suppliant manner solicited the commons in his favour. Yet it is said that Gracchus was the chief means of making a change in their sentiments; for on the commons crying out on all sides that Gracchus was in no danger, he took a formal oath, that if his colleague were condemned, he would not wait for their sentence on himself, but would accompany him into exile. After all, the case of the accused was so near being desperate, that the votes of eight centuries more would have condemned him. When Claudius was acquitted, the tribune said that he had nothing to do with Gracchus.

17. This year, on the Aquileians petitioning by their ambassadors for an addition to the number of their settlers, the senate ordered one thousand five hundred families to be enrolled for the purpose; and Titus Annius Læscus, Publius Decius Subulo, and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, were appointed commissioners to conduct them. During the same year, Caius Popilius and Cneius Octavius, who had been sent ambassadors into Greece, read, first at Thebes, and afterward carried about to all the other states of Peloponnesus, a decree, ordering that "no person should furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing for the use of the war except what should be directed by a vote of the senate." This, besides present satisfaction, afforded the allies a pleasing confi-

dence, with regard to the future, of being relieved from the heavy burdens and expenses, in consequence of the various demands of those magistrates. In the council of Achaia, held at Argos, the ambassadors spoke, and were heard with sentiments of mutual esteem and affection; and then, leaving that faithful nation in confident assurance of lasting prosperity, they crossed over to Ætolia. No civil war had yet broken out in that country; but mistrust and jealousy universally prevailed, and nothing was heard but reciprocal accusations and recriminations. To put a stop to these, the ambassadors demanded hostages, and, without waiting to cure the evil effectually, passed on to Acarnania. The Acarnanians held a council at Thyrium to give them audience. Here, too, there was a struggle between opposite factions; some of the nobles requiring that garrisons might be placed in their cities, to protect them against the madness of those who laboured to engage the nation in favour of the Macedonians; and others objecting to the measure, as throwing such an affront on peaceful and allied cities, as was practised only on towns taken in war or engaged in hostilities. Their objection was reckoned reasonable. From thence the ambassadors returned to Larissa, to Hostilius, for by him they had been sent. He kept Octavius with him, and sent Popilius, with about a thousand soldiers, into winter quarters in Ambracia.

18. Perseus ventured not to go out of Macedonia, lest the Romans might make an irruption into the kingdom by some unguarded quarter; but on the approach of the winter solstice, when the depth of the snow renders the mountains between that and Thessaly impassable, he thought the season favourable for crushing the hopes and spirits of his neighbours, so as to relieve himself from all apprehension of danger from them while he was employed elsewhere. As Cotys and Cephalus, by their sudden defection from the Romans, afforded him security on that part of the kingdom which lay next to Thrace and Epirus, and as he had lately subdued the Dardanians by arms, he considered that Macedonia was only exposed on the side next to Illyria, the Illyrians themselves being in motion, and having offered a free passage to the Romans. He hoped, however, that in case of reducing the nearest part of Illyria, Gentius himself, who had long been wavering, might be brought into alliance with him. Setting out, therefore, at the head of ten thousand foot, the greater

part of whom were soldiers of the phalanx, two thousand light infantry, and five hundred horse, he proceeded to Stubera. Having there supplied himself with corn sufficient for many days, and ordered every requisite for besieging towns to be sent after him, he continued his march, and on the third day encamped before Uscana, the largest city in the Penestian country. Before he employed force, he sent emissaries to sound the dispositions, sometimes of the commanders, sometimes of the inhabitants; for, besides some troops of Illyrians, there was a Roman garrison in the place. Perceiving no prospect of succeeding by negotiation, he resolved to attack the town, and made an attempt to take it by storm; but though his men, relieving one another, continued without intermission, either by day or night, some to apply ladders to the walls, others to attempt setting fire to the gates, yet the besieged withstood all the fury of the assault; for they had hopes that the Macedonians would not be able to endure long the violence of the winter in the open field; and besides, that the Roman army would not give the king so long a respite as should allow him to stay there. But, when they saw the machines in motion, and towers erected, their resolution failed; for, besides that they were unequal to a contest with his force, they had not a sufficient store of corn or any other necessary, as they had not expected a siege. Wherefore, despairing of being able to hold out, the Roman garrison sent Caius Carvilius Spoletinus and Caius Afranius to desire Perseus first to allow the troops to march out with their arms, and to carry their effects with them; and then, if they could not obtain that, to receive his promise of their lives and liberty. The king promised more generously than he performed; for, after desiring them to march out with their effects, the first thing he did was to take away their arms. As soon as they left the city, both the cohort of Illyrians, five hundred in number, and the inhabitants of Uscana, immediately surrendered themselves and the city.

19. Perseus, placing a garrison in Uscana, carried away to Stubera the whole multitude of prisoners, almost equal to his army in number. He then distributed the Romans, who amounted to four thousand, besides officers, among several cities, to be kept in custody; and, having sold the Uscanians and Illyrians, led back his army to Penestia, with design to reduce the city of Oæneus; which, besides other advantages

of its situation, affords a passage into the country of the La-beatians, where Gentius was king. As he passed by a fort named Draudacum, which was full of men, a person well acquainted with the country told him that "there was no use in taking Oæneus unless he had Draudacum in his power, for the latter was situated more advantageously in every respect." His army no sooner appeared before it, than all the inhabitants agreed to capitulate immediately. Encouraged by the early surrender of this place, and perceiving what terrors his march diffused, by taking advantage of the like fears, he reduced eleven other forts to submission. Against a very few he had occasion to use force; the rest submitted voluntarily; among whom were one thousand five hundred soldiers, who had been stationed there in garrison. Carvilius Spoletinus was very serviceable to him in his conferences with the garrison, by declaring that no severity had been shown to him and his party. At length he arrived at Oæneus, which could not be taken without a regular siege, having a much greater number of men than the others, with strong fortifications. It was enclosed on one side by a river called Artatus, and on another by a very high mountain of difficult access; circumstances which gave the inhabitants courage to make resistance. Perseus, having drawn lines of circumvallation, began, on the higher ground, to raise a mound, which he intended should exceed the wall in height. By the time that this work was completed, the besieged, in their many actions, when sallying out to defend their works or to obstruct those of the enemy, had lost great numbers by various chances; while the survivors were rendered useless by wounds, and by continual labour both in the day and night. As soon as the mound was brought close to the wall, the royal cohort (the men of which are called Nicators) rushed from it into the town, while an assault was made by escalade in many places at once. All the males who had reached the age of puberty were put to the sword, their wives and children were thrown into confinement, and every thing else was given as booty to the soldiers. Returning thence victorious to Stubera, he sent as ambassadors to Gentius, Pleuratus, an Illyrian, who lived in exile at his court, and Apputeus, a Macedonian from Beroëa. Their instructions were, to represent his exploits against the Romans and Dardanians during the preceding summer and winter, and to add the recent operations of his winter campaign

in Illyria, and to exhort Gentius to unite with him and the Macedonians in a treaty of friendship.

20. They crossed over the top of Mount Scordus, and through desert tracts of Illyria, which the Macedonians had laid waste, for the purpose of preventing the Dardanians from passing easily into Illyria or Macedonia; and at length, after undergoing prodigious fatigue, arrived at Scodra. King Gentius was at Lissus, to which place he invited the ambassadors, and lent a favourable ear to their representations, but gave them an indecisive answer: that "he wanted not inclination to go to war with the Romans, but was in extreme want of money to enable him to enter on such an undertaking." This answer they brought to the king while he was busy at Stubera in selling the prisoners from Illyria. He immediately sent back the same ambassadors, to whom he added Glaucias, one of his body-guards, but without any mention of money, the only thing that could induce the needy barbarian to take a part in the war. Then Perseus, after ravaging Ancyra, led back his army once more into Penestia; and having strengthened the garrisons of Uscana, and the other fortresses which he had taken in that quarter, he retired into Macedonia.

21. Lucius Cælius, a Roman lieutenant-general, commanded at that time in Illyria. While the king was in that country he did not venture to stir; but, on his departure, he made an attempt to recover Uscana in Penestia: in which, being repulsed with great loss by the Macedonian garrison, he led back his forces to Lychnidus. In a short time after he sent Marcus Trebellius Fregellanus, with a very strong force, into Penestia, to receive hostages from the cities which had faithfully remained in friendship. He ordered him also to march on to the Parthinians, who had likewise covenanted to give hostages, and he received them from both nations without any trouble; those of the Penestians were sent to Apollonia: those of the Parthinians to Dyrrachium, then more generally called by the Greeks Epidamnus. Appius Claudius, wishing to repair the disgrace which he had suffered in Illyria, made an attack on Phanote, a fortress of Epirus; bringing with him, besides the Roman troops, Athamanian and Thesprotian auxiliaries to the amount of six thousand men; but he gained no advantage; for Clevas, who had been left there with a strong garrison, effectually defended the place. Perseus marched to Elimeæ, and, after purifying his army, led it to Stra-

tus, in compliance with an invitation of the *Ætolians*. Stratus was then the strongest city in *Ætolia*. It stands on the *Ambracian Gulf*, near the river *Achelous*. Thither he marched with ten thousand foot and three hundred horse; for he did not choose to bring a larger party of the latter, on account of the narrowness and ruggedness of the roads. On the third day he came to Mount *Citium*, which he could scarcely climb over by reason of the depth of the snow; and afterward with difficulty found even a place for his camp. Leaving that spot, rather because he could not conveniently stay, than that either the road or the weather was tolerable, the army, after suffering severe hardships, which fell heaviest on the beasts of burden, encamped on the second day at the temple of *Jupiter* called *Nicæus*. After a very long march thence, he arrived at the river *Aracthus*, where the depth of the water obliged him to halt until a bridge could be made. As soon as this was finished he led over his army, and, having proceeded one day's march, met *Archidamus*, an *Ætolian* of distinction, who proposed delivering Stratus into his hands.

22. On that day *Perseus* encamped at the bounds of the *Ætolian* territory, and on the next arrived before Stratus, where, pitching his camp near the river *Achelous*, he expected that the *Ætolians* would come in crowds to put themselves under his protection; but, on the contrary, he found the gates shut, and discovered that the very night before he arrived a Roman garrison, under *Caius Popilius*, lieutenant-general, had been received into the town. The nobles, who, while *Archidamus* was present, had out of deference to his authority submitted to invite the king, as soon as he went out for that purpose had become less zealous, and had given an opportunity to the opposite faction to call in *Popilius*, with one thousand foot, from *Ambracia*. At the same juncture came also *Dinarchus*, general of the *Ætolian* cavalry, with six hundred foot and one hundred horse. It was well known that he came to Stratus intending to act with *Perseus*; but that, with the change of fortune, he had changed his mind, and joined the Romans. Nor was *Popilius* less on his guard than was requisite among people of such fickle tempers. He immediately took into his own keeping the keys of the gates, with the direction of the guard of the walls, removing *Dinarchus* and the *Ætolians*, together with the young men of Stratus, into the citadel, under the pretence of garrisoning

it. Perseus sounded the garrison, by addressing them from the eminences that hung over the upper part of the city, and finding that they were obstinate, and even kept him at a distance with weapons, removed his camp to the other side of the river Petitarus, about five miles from the town: there he held a council, wherein Archidamus and the refugees from Epirus advised that he should remain there; but the Macedonian nobles argued that it would be wrong to fight against the severity of the season without having magazines of provisions, in which case the besiegers would feel a scarcity sooner than the besieged, especially as the winter quarters of the enemy were at no great distance: which considerations so much discouraged him, that he marched away into Aperantia. The Aperantians, in consequence of the great interest and influence which Archidamus possessed among them, submitted to Perseus with universal consent: and Archidamus himself was appointed their governor, with a body of eight hundred soldiers.

23. The king then marched into Macedonia, his men and horses suffering on the way hardships no less severe than they had encountered on leaving home. However, the report of Perseus's march to Stratus obliged Appius to raise the siege of Phanote. Clevas, with a body of active young men, pursued him to the foot of a mountain, in a defile almost impassable, killed one thousand men of his disordered troops, and took two hundred prisoners. Appius, when he got clear of the defile, encamped in a plain called Eleon, where he remained for some days. Meanwhile Clevas, being joined by Philostratus, governor of Epirus, proceeded over the mountains into the lands of Antigonea. The Macedonians setting out to plunder, Philostratus, with his party, posted himself in ambush. The troops at Antigonea hastened out against the straggling plunderers, but, on their flying, pursued them with too great eagerness, until they precipitated themselves into the valley, which was beset by the enemy, who killed one thousand, and made about one hundred prisoners. Being thus successful everywhere, they encamped near the post of Appius, in order to prevent the Roman army from offering violence to any of their allies. Appius, finding that he wasted time there to no purpose, dismissed the Chaonian and other Epirotes, and with his Italian soldiers marched back to Illyria; then, sending the troops into their several winter quar-

ters in the confederate cities of the Parthinians, he went home to Rome to perform a sacrifice. Perseus recalled from Penestia one thousand foot and two hundred horse, whom he sent to garrison Cassandria. His ambassadors returned from Gentius with the same answer as before. Still he did not give up his design, but sent embassy after embassy to solicit him; yet, notwithstanding that he was sensible of the powerful support he would find in Gentius, the Macedonian could not prevail on himself to expend money on the business.

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BOOK XLIV.

CHAP. 1. Early in the following spring the Consul Quintus Marcius Philippus set out from Rome with five thousand men, whom he was to carry over to re-enforce his legions, and arrived at Brundisium. Marcus Popilius, of consular rank, and other young men of equal dignity, accompanied him, in quality of military tribunes for the legions in Macedonia. Nearly at the same time Caius Marcius Figulus, the pretor, whose province was the fleet, came to Brundisium; and both, sailing from Italy, made Corcyra on the second day, and Actium, a port of Acarnania, on the third. The consul, then disembarking at Ambracia, proceeded towards Thessaly by land. The pretor, doubling Cape Leucate, sailed into the Gulf of Corinth; then, leaving his ships at Creusa, he went by land also through the middle of Bœotia, and, by a quick journey of one day, came to the fleet at Chalcis. Aulus Hostilius at that time lay encamped in Thessaly, near Palæpharsalus; and though he had performed no warlike act of any consequence, yet he had reformed his troops from a state of dissolute licentiousness, and brought them to exact military discipline; had faithfully consulted the interest of the allies, and defended them from every kind of injury. On hearing of his successor's approach, he carefully inspected the arms, men, and horses; and then, with the army in complete order, he marched out to greet the consul. The meeting was such as became their own dignity and the Roman character; and

in transacting business afterward [they preserved the greatest harmony and propriety]. The proconsul, addressing himself to the troops, [exhorted them to behave with courage, and with due respect to the orders of their commander. He then recommended them, in warm terms, to the consul; and, as soon as he had despatched the necessary affairs, set off for Rome]. A few days after the consul made a speech to his soldiers, which began with the unnatural murder which Perseus had perpetrated on his brother, and meditated against his father: he then mentioned "his acquisition of the kingdom by the most nefarious practices; his poisonings and murders; his abominable attempt to assassinate Eumenes; the injuries he had committed against the Roman people; and his plundering the cities of their allies, in violation of the treaty. How detestable such proceedings were in the sight of the gods, Perseus would feel," he said, "in the issue of his affairs; for the gods always favoured righteous and honourable dealings, by means of which the Roman state had risen to its present exaltation." He compared the strength of the Roman people, whose authority was now acknowledged throughout the whole world, with that of Macedonia, and the armies of the one with those of the other; and then he asked, "Was not the power of Philip, and that of Antiochus, much superior?" and yet both of them had been conquered.

2. Having animated his soldiers by such exhortations, he began to consult on a general plan of operations for the campaign, being joined by the Pretor Caius Marcius, who, after receiving the command of the fleet, came thither from Chalcis. It was resolved not to waste time by delaying longer in Thessaly, but to decamp immediately, and advance into Macedonia; and that the pretor should exert himself to the utmost, that the fleet might appear at the same time on the enemy's coast. The pretor then took his leave; and the consul, ordering the soldiers to carry a month's provisions, struck his tents on the tenth day after he received the command of the army, and putting the troops in motion, marched until night. Before he proceeded he called together his guides, and ordered them to explain, in the presence of the council, by what road each of them proposed to lead him; then, desiring them to withdraw, he asked the opinion of the council as to what route he should prefer. Some advised the road through Pythium; others, that over the Cambunian mountains, where

the Consul Hostilius had marched the year before ; while others again preferred that which passed by the side of the Lake Ascuris. There was yet before him a considerable length of way, which led alike towards all of these ; the farther consideration of this matter was therefore postponed until they should encamp near the place where the roads diverged. He then marched into Perrhæbia, and posted himself between Azorus and Doliche, in order to consider again which was the preferable road. In the meantime Perseus, understanding that the enemy was marching towards him, but unable to guess what route he might take, resolved to secure all the passes. To the top of the Cambunian mountains, called by the natives Volustana, he sent ten thousand light infantry, under the command of Asclepiodotus ; ordering Hippias, with a detachment of twelve thousand Macedonians, to guard the pass called Lapathus, near a fort which stood over the Lake Ascuris. He himself, with the rest of his forces, lay for some time in camp at Dius ; but afterward, as if he had lost the use of his judgment, and was incapable of forming any plan, he used to gallop along the coast with a party of light horse, sometimes to Heracleus, sometimes to Phila, and then return with the same speed to Dius.

3. By this time the consul had determined to march through the pass near Octolophus, where, as we have mentioned, the camp of Philip formerly stood. But he deemed it prudent to despatch before him four thousand men, to secure such places as might be useful : the command of this party was given to Marcus Claudius, and Quintius Marcius, the consul's son. The main body followed close after ; but the road was so steep, rough, and craggy, that the advanced party of light troops, with great difficulty, effected in two days a march of fifteen miles : they then encamped on a spot called the tower of Eudieru. Next day they advanced seven miles ; and, having seized on a hill at a small distance from the enemy's camp, sent back a message to the consul, that "they had arrived within sight of the enemy, and had taken post in a place which was safe and convenient in every respect ; urging him to join them with all possible speed." This message came to the consul at the Lake Ascuris, at a time when he was full of anxiety, on account of the badness of the road into which he had brought the army, and for the fate of the small force he had sent forward among the posts of the enemy. His spirits

were therefore greatly revived ; and, soon effecting a junction of all his forces, he pitched his camp on the side of the hill that had been seized, where the ground was the most commodious. This hill was so high as to afford a wide-extended prospect, presenting to their eyes, at one view, not only the enemy's camp, which was little more than a mile distant, but the whole extent of territory to Dius and Phila, together with a large tract of the seacoast ; circumstances which greatly enlivened the courage of the soldiers, giving them so near a view of the grand theatre of the war, of all the king's forces, and of the country of the enemy. So highly were they animated, that they pressed the consul to lead them on directly ; but, after the fatigue they had suffered on the road, one day was set apart for repose. On the third day, the consul, leaving one half of his troops to guard the camp, marched against the enemy.

4. Hippias had been sent by the king, a short time before, to maintain that pass ; and having employed himself, since he first saw the Roman camp on the hill, in preparing his men's minds for a battle, he now went forward to meet the consul's army as it advanced. The Romans came out to battle with light armour, as did the Macedonians ; light troops being the fittest for the kind of fight in which they were about to engage. As soon as they met, therefore, they instantly discharged their javelins, and many wounds were given and received on both sides in a disorderly kind of conflict, but few of either party were killed. This only roused their courage for the following day, when they would have engaged with more numerous forces, and with greater animosity, had there been room to form a line ; but the summit of the mountain was contracted into a ridge so narrow as scarcely to allow space for three files in front ; so that the greater part, especially such as carried heavy arms, stood mere spectators of the fight. The light troops even ran through the hollows of the hill, and attacked the flanks of the enemy ; never considering either the advantage or disadvantage of the ground, provided they could but come to action. That day, too, greater numbers were wounded than killed, and night put a stop to the dispute. The Roman general was greatly at a loss how to proceed on the third day ; for to remain on that naked hill was impossible, and he could not return without disgrace, and even danger, if the Macedonian,

with the advantage of the ground, should press on his troops in their retreat; he had therefore no other plan left than to persevere in his bold attempt, which sometimes, in the issue, proves the wisest course. He had, in fact, brought himself into such a situation, that if he had had to deal with an enemy like the ancient kings of Macedon, he might have suffered a severe defeat. But while the king, with his horsemen, ran up and down the shore at Dius, and, though almost within hearing of the shout and noise of twelve thousand of his forces who were engaged, neither sent up fresh men to relieve the weary, nor, what was most material, appeared himself in the action; —the Roman general, notwithstanding that he was above sixty years old, and unwieldy through corpulency, performed actively every duty of a commander. He persisted, with extraordinary resolution, in his bold undertaking; and leaving Popilius to guard the summit, marched across, through places which would have been impassable if he had not sent forward a party to open a road. Attalus and Misagenes, with the auxiliary troops of their own nations, were ordered to protect them while clearing the way through the forests. He himself, keeping the cavalry and baggage before him, closed the rear with the legions.

5. In descending the mountain the men suffered inexpressible fatigue, besides the frequent falling of the cattle and their loads, so that, before they had advanced quite four miles, they began to think that their most eligible plan would be to return, if possible, by the way they came. The elephants caused almost as much confusion among the troops as an enemy could; for, when they came to impassable steeps, they threw off their riders, and set up such a hideous roar, as spread terror through all, especially among the horses, until a method was contrived for bringing them down. They fastened in the earth, some way from the top, two long strong posts, distant from each other a little more than the breadth of the animal, on which were fastened beams thirty feet long, which stretched across the precipice, by means of which they formed a kind of bridge, and covered it with earth; a little lower another; then a third bridge, with several others, one after another, where steeps were found. The elephant walked forward on solid footing; but, before he came to the end, the posts underneath were cut, and the bridge falling, obliged him to slide down gently to the beginning of the next bridge, which some

of them performed standing, others on their haunches. When they arrived at the level of another bridge they were again carried down, by its falling in like manner; and this operation was repeated until they came to more level ground. The Romans advanced that day scarcely more than seven miles; and even of this journey little was performed on foot. Their method of proceeding in general was rolling themselves down, together with their arms and baggage, by which they were severely hurt; insomuch that even their commander, who led them such a march, did not deny but that the whole army might have been cut off by a small party. During the night they arrived at a small plain; but, as it was hemmed in on every side, they could not immediately discover whether it was a place of danger or not. However, as they had, beyond their expectation, at length found good footing, they judged it necessary to wait, during the next day, in that deep valley for Popilius, and the forces left behind with him; who, though the enemy gave them no disturbance, suffered severely from the difficulties of the ground,—almost, indeed, as if they had been harassed by an enemy. These having joined the main body, the whole proceeded on the third day through a pass called by the natives Callipeuce. The road before them was not more easy than what they had passed; but experience had taught them to surmount the difficulties, while they were supported by more comfortable hopes, as they saw no enemy anywhere, and as they were coming nearer to the sea. On the fourth day they marched down into the plains, where they pitched their camp of infantry between Heracleus and Libethrus, the greater part being posted on hills, the rest occupying a valley and part of the plain where the cavalry encamped.

6. The king, it is said, was bathing when he was informed of the enemy's approach; on hearing which, he started up from his seat in a fright, crying out, that he was conquered without a battle; he then rushed out, and afterward continued in a state of such perturbation, that he could neither give any orders, nor form any plan but what his fears dictated, and even these he frequently altered. Of his two most intimate friends, he sent Nicias to Pella, where his treasure was lodged, with orders to throw all that he found there into the sea, and Andronicus to Thessalonica, to burn the dockyards. At the same time he recalled Hippias and Asclepiodotus from

the places which they had been appointed to guard, and opened every pass to the Romans. He went himself to Dios, where, collecting all the golden statues, that they might not fall a prey to the enemy, he put them on board the fleet, which he ordered to remove with all speed to Pydna. This behaviour of Perseus was the cause, that the conduct of the consul, in venturing into a situation out of which he could not retreat without the enemy's permission, although it might have been deemed rash and inconsiderate, yet carried, in fact, the appearance of judicious boldness : for there were only two passes through which the Romans could remove from their present situation : one through Tempe into Thessaly, the other by Dios into Macedonia ; and both these were occupied by parties of the king's troops. So that if an intrepid commander had, only for ten days, maintained his ground, without yielding to the first appearance of the Romans' approach, they could neither have retreated by Tempe, nor have had any road open for the conveyance of provisions from thence. For Tempe is a pass of such a nature, that, supposing no obstruction given by an enemy, it is difficult to get through it, being so narrow for the length of five miles that there is barely room for a loaded horse to pass : the precipices, also, on both sides are so abrupt, that it is scarcely possible to look down from them without a degree of dizziness of the eyes and head ; while the horror of the scene is increased by the roaring and depth of the river Peneus flowing through the middle of the glen. This defile, in its nature so dangerous, had for its security four parties of the king's troops, stationed in different places : one near Connus, at the first entrance ; another in an impregnable fortress at Condylus ; a third near Lapathus, in a place called Charax ; and the fourth on the road itself about midway, where the valley is narrowest, and which might have been easily defended even by half a score men. All possibility either of retreating, or of receiving provisions through Tempe, being cut off, the Romans, in order to return, must have crossed over the same mountains from which they came down ; but even though they might have been able to effect this by passing unobserved, they never could have accomplished it openly, and while the enemy kept possession of the heights ; and, besides, the difficulties which they had already experienced would have precluded every hope of the kind. In this situa-

tion, to which want of caution had brought them, they would have no other plan left than to force their way into Macedonia, through the midst of the enemy posted at Dius; and if the gods had not deprived the king of his understanding, this would have been extremely difficult. For the space between the foot of Mount Olympus and the sea is not much more than a mile in breadth; one half of which is taken up by the mouth of the river Baphirus, which forms a large morass, and of the remaining plain a great share is occupied by the town and the temple of Jupiter: the rest, being a very small space, might have been shut up with a trench and rampart of no great length; or, so great was the plenty of stones and timber on the spot, that a wall might have been drawn across, and towers erected. But, the king's judgment was so entirely blinded by the sudden sight, that he reflected not on any one of these circumstances. On the contrary, he evacuated all his strong posts, leaving them open to the enemy, and fled back to Pydna.

7. The consul, perceiving that the enemy's total want of courage and conduct presented him a most favourable prospect, not only of safety, but of success, sent back a messenger to Larissa, with orders to Spurius Lucretius to seize on the deserted forts about Tempe; then, sending forward Popilius to examine all the passes round Dius, and learning that all was clear, he marched in two days to that town, ordering the camp to be pitched under the walls of the temple, that no violation might be offered to that sacred place. He went himself into the city, and seeing it, though not large, yet highly ornamented with public buildings and abundance of statues, and remarkably well fortified, he could scarcely believe that a place of such importance had been abandoned, without a design to cover some stratagem. He waited therefore one day to examine all the country round; then he decamped; and supposing that he should find plenty of corn in his way, advanced to a river called the Mytis. On the day following, continuing his march, he received the voluntary surrender of the city of Agassa; whereon, in order to gain the good opinion of the rest of the Macedonians, he contented himself with receiving hostages, assuring the inhabitants that he would leave them their city without a garrison, and that they should live free from taxes, and under their own laws. Proceeding thence one day's march, he encamped at

the river Ascardus ; but, finding that the farther he removed from Thessaly, the greater was the scarcity of every thing, he returned to Dius ; which clearly demonstrated how much he must have suffered if he had been shut out from an intercourse with Thessaly, since he found it unsafe to go to any great distance from it. Perseus, having drawn all his forces into one body, and assembled all his generals, reprimanded severely the commanders of the garrisons, and particularly Hippias and Asclepiodotus ; asserting that they had betrayed to the Romans the keys of Macedonia ; although, in fact, no one deserved more justly to be blamed for it than himself. The consul, on seeing the fleet at sea, conceived hopes that they were coming with provisions, for every article had now become very dear and very scarce ; but when the ships came into harbour, he was informed that the transports had been left behind at Magnesia. He was then under great perplexity to determine what measures to take ; so hard did he find it to struggle with the difficulties of his situation, though not aggravated by any effort of the enemy ; when very seasonably a letter arrived from Lucretius, acquainting him that he was in possession of all the forts about Tempe and Phila, and had found in them great plenty of corn and other necessaries.

8. This news highly rejoiced the consul ; and he immediately removed his quarters from Dius to Phila, in order to strengthen that post, and at the same time to distribute corn to the soldiers on the spot, as the carriage of it thence would be tedious. That march gave rise to opinions not at all favourable to his reputation : some say that he retired from the enemy through fear ; because, if he had stayed, he must have risked a battle : others, that, not considering the daily changes produced by fortune in the affairs of war, he had let slip out of his hands advantages which threw themselves in his way, and which in all probability he could never regain ; for, by giving up the possession of Dius, he at once roused the enemy to action, who at length saw the necessity of endeavouring to recover what he had lost before through his own fault. On hearing of the consul's departure, therefore, Perseus marched back to Dius, repaired whatever had been destroyed by the Romans, rebuilt the battlements which they had thrown down, strengthened the fortifications all round, and then pitched his camp within five miles of the city, on the hither bank of Enipeus, making use of the river, the passage of which

was extremely difficult, as a defence to his post. The Enipeus, which rises in a valley of Mount Olympus, is a small stream during the summer, but is raised by the winter rains to a violent torrent, when, as it runs over the rocks, it forms furious eddies, and, by sweeping away the earth at the bottom into the sea, makes very deep gulfs, while the sinking of the middle of the channel renders the banks both high and steep. By the help of this river, Perseus thought that he might impede the march of the enemy, and perhaps prevent his proceeding any farther during the remainder of the summer. In the meantime the consul sent Popilius, with two thousand men, against Heracleus, about five miles from Phila, midway between Dius and Tempe, and which stands on a steep rock hanging over the river.

9. Popilius, before he attacked the town, sent to recommend to the magistrates rather to try the honour and clemency of the Romans than their power; but this advice was totally disregarded, the fires in the king's camp on the Enipeus being now within their sight. The attack was then commenced by assaults, and with works and machines, as well on the side facing the sea (for the ships had been brought up close to the shore) as on land. A party of Roman youths actually gained possession of the lowest part of the wall, by turning to the purposes of war a kind of sport which they were accustomed to practise in the circus. In those times, when the present extravagant fashion of filling the arena with beasts of every kind was yet unknown, it was customary to contrive various kinds of amusements; for when one chariot-race and one set of tumblers were exhibited, both the performances scarcely filled up the space of an hour. Among other diversions, the directors of the games used to introduce about sixty young men in arms, sometimes more, whose performances were partly a representation of troops going through the military exercise, and partly a display of more accurate skill than appeared in the practice of soldiers, and which approached nearer to the mode of fighting used by gladiators. After performing various evolutions, they formed in a square body, with their shields raised over their heads, and closed together, the foremost standing upright, the next stooping a little, the third and fourth lines more and more, and so on, until the hindmost rested on their knees, thus composing a covering in the shape of a tortoise-shell, and sloping like the

roof of a house. Then two armed men, who stood at the distance of about fifty feet, ran forward, and, after some menacing flourishes of their arms, mounted over the closed shields, from the bottom to the top of this roof; and, treading as steadily as if on solid ground, sometimes paraded along the extreme edges of it, as if repelling an enemy, and sometimes engaged each other on the middle of it. On the present occasion they raised the like against a part of the wall, and the soldiers standing thereon mounted until they were as high as the defendants on the battlements; these they soon beat off, and the soldiers of two companies climbed over into the town. The only difference between this and the playful contrivance was, that here the outside men in the front and in the two flanks did not raise their shields over their heads, lest they should expose their bodies, but held them before them as in battle; so that the weapons thrown at them from the walls as they advanced did them no injury, while those that were poured in showers on the roof slid down the smooth slope to the bottom, without doing any mischief. When Heracleus was taken, the consul removed his quarters thither, as if he intended to besiege Dius; and, after driving the king thence, to advance to Pieria. But, seeing it time to prepare quarters for the winter, he ordered roads to be made for the conveyance of provisions from Thessaly, and proper places to be chosen for storehouses; also huts to be built, where the people employed in bringing the provisions might lodge.

10. Perseus, having at length recovered his spirits after the panic with which he had been seized, began to wish that obedience had not been paid to the orders which he had given in his fright, to throw the treasures at Pella into the sea, and to burn the naval arsenals at Thessalonica. Andronicus, indeed, whom he had sent to Thessalonica, deferred the execution of his order, leaving him time for repentance, which accordingly took place; but Nicias, less provident, threw into the sea what treasure he found at Pella: his error, however, turned to be not without remedy, inasmuch as the greatest part of that treasure was brought up again by divers. Nevertheless, Perseus was so very much ashamed of his terror on the occasion, that he caused the divers to be privately put to death, together with Andronicus and Nicias, that there might be no living witness of such dastardly conduct. In the meantime, Caius Marcius, with the fleet, sailed from Herac-

leus to Thessalonica. Landing his men, he made wide depredations on the country; and when the troops from the city came out against him, he defeated them in several actions, and drove them back in dismay within their walls. He even alarmed the city itself; but the townsmen, erecting engines of every kind, wounded with stones thrown from them not only such as straggled carelessly near the walls, but even those who were on board the ships. He therefore re-embarked his troops; and, giving up the design of besieging Thessalonica, proceeded thence to *Ænia*, fifteen miles distant, situated opposite to *Pydna*, in a fertile country. After ravaging the lands in that quarter, he coasted along the shore until he arrived at *Antigonea*. Here his troops landed, and for some time carried their depredations through all the country round, putting a great deal of booty on board the ships; but afterward a party of Macedonians, consisting of foot and horse intermixed, fell upon them as they straggled, put them to a precipitate flight, and, pursuing them to the shore, killed near five hundred, and took as many prisoners. Extreme necessity, on finding themselves hindered from regaining their vessels, roused the courage of the Roman soldiers, filling them with despair of any other means of safety than by resistance, and with indignation at their disgrace. They renewed the fight on the shore, assisted by the seamen; and here about two hundred Macedonians were killed, and a like number taken. From *Antigonea* the fleet sailed on to the district of *Pallene*, where a descent was made for the purpose of plundering. This district belonged to the territory of *Cassandra*, and was by far the most plentiful of any at which they had yet touched on the coast. There they were met by King *Eumenes*, who came from *Elea* with twenty decked ships; and King *Prusias* also sent five of the like kind thither.

11. Such a large accession of strength encouraged the prætor to lay siege to *Cassandra*. This city was built by King *Cassander*, in the pass which connects the territory of *Pallene* with the rest of *Macedonia*. It is washed on one side by the *Toronæan*, on another by the *Macedonian Sea*; for it stands on a neck of land which stretches into the ocean, and rises in the part opposite *Magnesia* to a height equal to that of *Mount Athos*, forming two unequal promontories, the larger called *Posideum*, the smaller *Canastræum*. The besiegers formed their attacks on two different sides; the Roman gen-

eral, at a place called Clytæ, drew a trench from the Macedonian to the Toronean Sea, to which he added pointed palisades, to cut off the communication; while on the other side, next to the Euripus, Eumenes carried on his attack. The Romans underwent a vast deal of labour in filling up a trench which Perseus had dug in the way; and on the pretor inquiring where the earth that had been taken out of it was thrown, as he saw no heaps of it anywhere, some arches were shown him that were closed up with it, not of equal thickness with the old wall, but with a single row of brick. On this he formed the design of opening a way into the city by breaking through that wall; and he hoped to be able to effect this before it should be discovered, if, by assaulting another part by scalade and raising a tumult there, he could divert the attention of the besieged to the defence of the place attacked. There were in garrison at Cassandrea, besides the younger inhabitants, who formed no contemptible body, eight hundred Agrians and two thousand Illyrians from Penestria, sent thither by Pleuratus; and the men of both countries were remarkably warlike. While these were busy in defending the walls, and the Romans using their utmost efforts to scale them, in an instant of time the arches were broken down and the city laid open; and if those who effected this had been armed, they must have immediately become masters of the town. When the soldiers were told that this work was accomplished, they were so elated with joy that they raised a sudden shout, expecting to force their way in at several different places.

12. At first the enemy wondered what this sudden shout could mean; but when Pytho and Philip, the commanders of the garrison, were told that the city was laid open, they concluded that every advantage resulting from that event would be in favour of whichever party should make the first charge; and therefore they sallied out, with a strong body of Agrians and Illyrians, who, while the Romans were coming together from various parts, and endeavouring to form their battalions to march into the city, attacked them thus disordered and irregular; and, quickly routing them, drove them to the trench, into which they were tumbled in heaps, one over another. About six hundred were killed in this action, and almost every one that was found between the wall and the trench was wounded. The blow meditated by

the pretor, having thus recoiled on himself, damped his spirits for any other attempts; and as Eumenes made little or no progress, though he carried on his operations both by land and sea, they concurred in a resolution to strengthen their guards, in order to prevent the introduction of any re-enforcement from Macedonia; and, since they had not succeeded by assault, to carry on the siege by regular approaches. While they were adjusting matters according to this plan, ten barks, belonging to Perseus, sent from Thessalonica, with a chosen body of Gallic auxiliaries, observing the enemy's ships lying at anchor in the road, took advantage of the darkness of the night, and keeping as close to the shore as possible, in a single line, effected their passage to the city. Intelligence of this new addition of force obliged both the Romans and Eumenes to raise the siege. They then sailed round the promontory, and brought the fleet into the harbour of Toron. This town also they intended to besiege; but, perceiving that it had a strong garrison to defend it, they dropped the design, and proceeded to Demetrias. When they approached this place, they saw the fortifications fully manned; they therefore sailed on, and brought the fleet into harbour at Iolcos, intending, after ravaging the country there, to proceed to the siege of Demetrias.

13. In the meantime, the consul, not to lie inactive, sent Marcus Popilius, with five thousand men, to reduce the city of Melibœa. This city stands at the foot of the Mount Ossa, where it stretches out into Thessaly, and is very advantageously situated for commanding Demetrias. The townspeople were terrified by the approach of the enemy; but, soon recovering from the fright occasioned by the unexpectedness of the event, they ran hastily in arms to the gates and walls, to those parts where they apprehended an attack, so as to cut off from the enemy all hope of taking the place by an immediate assault. The Romans therefore made preparations for a siege, and began their works for making the approaches. When Perseus was informed of this, and that the fleet lay at Iolcos, intending to proceed thence to attack Demetrias, he sent Euphranor, one of his generals, with two thousand chosen men, to Melibœa. His orders were, that if he could compel the Romans to retire from before the place, he should then march secretly into Demetrias, before the enemy should bring up their troops from Iolcos. As soon as the force em-

ployed against Melibœa beheld him on the high grounds, they abandoned their works in great consternation, and set them on fire. Thus was Melibœa relieved, and Euphranor marched instantly to Demetrias. His arrival gave the townsmen full confidence that they should be able, not only to defend their walls, but to protect their lands also from depredations; and they made several irruptions on the straggling parties of the plunderers, not without success. However, the pretor and the king rode round the walls to view the situation of the city, and try whether they might attempt it on any side, either by storm or works. It was reported, that some overtures of friendship between Eumenes and Perseus were here agitated, through Cydas, a Cretan, and Antimachus, governor of Demetrias. It is certain that the armies retired from Demetrias. Eumenes sailed to the consul; and, after congratulating him on his success in penetrating into Macedonia, went home to Pergamus. Marcus Figulus, the pretor, sent part of his fleet to winter at Sciathus, and with the remainder repaired to Oreum in Eubœa, judging that the most convenient place for sending supplies to the armies in Macedonia and Thessaly. There are very different accounts given respecting King Eumenes: if Valerius Antias is to be believed, he neither gave any assistance with his fleet to the pretor, though often solicited by letters, nor did he part with the consul in good humour, being offended at not being permitted to lie in the same camp with him: he says, too, that he could not be prevailed on even to leave the Gallic horsemen that he had brought with him. But his brother Attalus remained with the consul, and in the constant tenour of his conduct evinced a sincere attachment, and an extraordinary degree of zeal and activity in the service.

14. While the war was proceeding thus in Macedonia, ambassadors came to Rome, from a chieftain of the Gauls beyond the Alps, whose name is said to have been Balanos, but of what tribe is not mentioned. They brought an offer of assistance towards the war in Macedonia. The senate returned him thanks, and sent him presents,—a golden chain of two pounds' weight, golden bowls to the amount of four pounds, a horse completely caparisoned, and a suit of horseman's armour. Afterward, the Gauls, ambassadors from Pamphylia, brought into the senate-house a golden crown of the value of twenty thousand Philippics, and requested per-

mission to deposite it, as an offering, in the shrine of Jupiter supremely good and great, and to offer sacrifice in the capitol, which was granted. The said ambassadors having expressed a wish to renew the treaty of friendship, a gracious answer was given, and a present was made to each of two thousand asses.* Then audience was given to the ambassadors of King Prusias; and, a little after, to those of the Rhodians. The subject of both these embassies was the same, but their manner of treating it was widely different. The purpose of both was to effect a peace with King Perseus. The address of Prusias consisted of entreaties rather than demands; for he declared that "he had hitherto supported the cause of the Romans, and would continue to support it. But, on Perseus sending ambassadors to him, on the subject of putting an end to the war with Rome, he had promised them to become a mediator with the senate;" and he requested that, "if they could prevail on themselves to lay aside their resentment, they would allow him some share of merit in the re-establishment of peace." Such was the discourse of the king's ambassadors. The Rhodians, after ostentatiously recounting their many services to the Roman people, and arrogating to themselves rather the greater share of its successes, particularly in the case of King Antiochus, proceeded in this manner; that, "at a time when peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they likewise commenced a friendship with King Perseus, which they had since unwillingly broken, without having any reason to complain of him, but merely because it was the desire of the Romans to draw them into a confederacy in the war. For three years past they felt many inconveniences from the war. In consequence of the interruption of commerce, and the loss of their port-duties and provisions, their island was distressed by a general scarcity. When their countrymen could no longer suffer this, they had sent other ambassadors into Macedonia to Perseus, to warn him that it was the wish of the Rhodians that he should conclude a peace with the Romans, and had sent them to Rome with the same message. The Rhodians would afterward consider what measures they should judge proper to be taken against either party that should obstruct a pacification." I am convinced that no per-

* 6l. 9s. 2d.

son, even at the present time, can hear or read such expressions without indignation ; we may, then, easily judge what emotions they produced in the minds of the senators.

15. According to the account of Claudius, no answer was given ; and the senate only directed a decree to be read, by which the Roman people ordered, that the Carians and Lycians should enjoy independence ; and that a letter should be sent immediately to each of those nations, acquainting them therewith. On hearing which the principal ambassador, whose arrogant demeanour just before seemed to hold the senate in contempt, sunk into abject despondency. Other writers say that an answer was given to this effect : " That, at the commencement of the present war, the Roman people had learned, from unquestionable authority, that the Rhodians, in concert with King Perseus, had formed secret machinations against their commonwealth ; and that, if that matter had been doubtful hitherto, the words of their ambassadors just now had reduced it to a certainty ; as, in general, treachery, though at first sufficiently cautious, yet in the end betrays itself. The Rhodians, by their messengers, had acted the part of arbiters of war and peace throughout the world ; at their nod the Romans must take up arms and lay them down ; and must soon appeal, not to the gods, but to the Rhodians, for their sanction of treaties. And was this indeed the case ; that, unless their orders were obeyed, and the armies withdrawn from Macedonia, they would consider what measures they should take ? What the Rhodians might determine, they themselves knew best ; but the Roman people, as soon as the conquest of Perseus should be completed, an event which they hoped was at no great distance, would most certainly consider how to make due retribution to each state, according to its deserts in the course of the war." Nevertheless the usual presents of two thousand asses each were sent to the ambassadors, which they did not accept.

16. Then were read letters from the Consul Quintus Marcius, informing the senate that " he had passed the mountains, and penetrated into Macedonia ; that the pretor had collected there, and procured from other places, stores of provisions for the approaching winter ; and that he had brought from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat and ten thousand of barley, the price of which he desired might be paid to their ambassadors in Rome : that clothing for the

troops must be sent from Rome ; and that he wanted about two hundred horses, which he wished to be Numidian ; where he was he could procure none." The senate decreed that every thing should be done as desired in the consul's letter. The Pretor Caius Sulpicius agreed with contractors for conveying into Macedonia six thousand gowns, thirty thousand tunics, and the horses, all which were to be approved by the consul ; and he paid the Epirot ambassadors the price of the corn. He then introduced to the senate Onesimus, son of Pytho, a Macedonian of distinction. He had always advised the king to peaceable measures, and recommended to him that, as his father Philip had, to the last day of his life, made it an established rule to read over twice every day the treaty concluded with the Romans, so he should, if not daily, yet frequently observe the same practice. Finding that he could not dissuade him from war, he at first absented himself on various pretences, that he might not be present at proceedings which he could not approve. But at last, having discovered that suspicions were harboured against him, and hints thrown out of charging him with treason, he went over to the Romans, and was of great service to the consul. When he was introduced into the senate-house, he mentioned these circumstances ; and the senate thereon decreed that he should be enrolled in the number of their allies ; that ample accommodations should be provided for him ; also, a grant of two hundred acres of land, in that part of the Tarentine territory which was the public property of the Roman people, with a house in Tarentum. The charge of executing all which was committed to Caius Decimius, the pretor. On the ides of December the censors performed the general survey with more severity than usual. A great many were deprived of their horses, among whom was Publius Rutilius, who, when tribune of the people, had carried on a violent prosecution against them ; he was, besides, degraded from his tribe, and disfranchised. In pursuance of a decree of the senate, one half of the taxes of that year was paid by the questors into the hands of the censors, to defray the expenses of public works. Tiberius Sempronius, out of the money assigned to him, purchased for the public the house of Publius Africanus, behind the old house, near the statue of Vertumnus, with the butcher's stalls and shops adjoining ; where he built the public courthouse, afterward called the Sempronian.

17. The end of the year now approached, and people's thoughts were so deeply engaged by the war in Macedonia, that the general topic of their conversation was, what consuls they should choose to bring that war at length to a conclusion. The senate therefore passed an order, that Cneius Servilius should come home to hold the elections. Sulpicius, the pretor, sent the order of the senate to the consul; and, in a few days after, read his answer in public, wherein he promised to be in the city before the * * day of * * *. The consul came in due time, and the election was finished on the day appointed. The consuls chosen were, Lucius Æmilius Paulus, a second time, fourteen years after his first consulship, and Caius Licinius Crassus. Next day, the following were appointed pretors; Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, Lucius Anicius Gallus, Cneius Octavius, Publius Fonteius Balbus, Marcus Æbutius Elva, and Caius Papirius Corbo. The senate's anxiety about the Macedonian war stimulated them to more than ordinary expedition in all their proceedings; they therefore ordered that the magistrates elect should immediately cast lots for their provinces, that it might be known which consul was to have the command in Macedonia, and which pretor that of the fleet: in order that they might, without loss of time, consider and prepare whatever was requisite for the service, and consult the senate on any point where their direction was necessary, they voted that, "on the magistrates coming into office, the Latine festival should be celebrated as early as the rules of religion permitted; and that the consul who was to go into Macedonia should not be detained on account of it." When these orders were passed, Italy and Macedonia were named as the provinces for the consuls; and for the pretors, besides the two jurisdictions in the city, the fleet, Spain, Sicily, and Sardinia. As to the consuls, Macedonia fell to Æmilius, Italy to Licinius. Of the pretors, Cneius Bæbius got the city jurisdiction; Lucius Anicius the foreign, under a rule to go wherever the senate should direct; Cneius Octavius, the fleet; Publius Fonteius, Spain; Marcus Æbutius, Sicily; and Caius Papirius, Sardinia.

18. It immediately became evident to all that the conduct of Lucius Æmilius, in the prosecution of the war, would not be deficient in vigour; for, besides the well-known energy of his character, his thoughts were turned with unremitting attention solely on the business relative to that war. In the

first place he requested the senate to send commissioners into Macedonia to review the armies and the fleet, and to bring authentic information respecting the wants both of the land and sea forces; to make what discoveries they could respecting the state of the king's forces; and to learn how much of the country was in our power, how much in that of the enemy; whether the Romans were still encamped among the woods and mountains, or had got clear of all the difficult passes, and were come down into the plains; who were faithful allies to us, who were doubtful, and ready to join either party that fortune favoured, and who were avowed enemies; what store of provisions was prepared, and whence new supplies might be brought by land-carriage, whence by the fleet; and what progress had been made during the last campaign, either on land or sea. For he thought that, by gaining a thorough knowledge of all these particulars, the plans for future proceedings might be constructed on sure grounds. The senate directed the Consul Cneius Servilius to send as commissioners into Macedonia such persons as should be approved of by Lucius Æmilius. Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, and Lucius Bæbius, were commissioned accordingly, and they began their journey two days after. Towards the close of this year it was reported that two showers of stones had fallen, one in the territory of Rome, the other in that of Veii; and the nine days' solemnity was performed. Of the priests died this year Publius Quintilius Varus, flamen of Mars, and Marcus Claudius Marcellus, decemvir, in whose room was substituted Cneius Octavius. It has been remarked, as an instance of the increasing magnificence of the times, that in the Circensian games, exhibited by Publius Cornelius, Scipio Nasica, and Publius Lentulus, curule ediles, sixty-three panthers, with forty bears and elephants, made a part of the show.

19. At the beginning of the following year [A. U. C. 584. B. C. 168], Lucius Æmilius Paulus and Caius Licinius, consuls, having commenced their administration on the ides of March, the senators were impatient to hear what propositions were to be laid before them, particularly with respect to Macedonia, by the consul to whose lot that province had fallen; but Paulus said that he had as yet nothing to propose to them, the commissioners not being returned: that "they were then at Brundisium, after having been twice driven back to Dyr-

rachium in attempting the passage; that he intended shortly to propose the business of his province to their consideration, when he should have obtained the information which was previously necessary, and which he expected within a very few days." He added, that "in order that nothing should delay his setting out, the day before the calends of April had been fixed for the Latine festival; after finishing which solemnity, he and Cneius Octavius would begin their journey as soon as the senate should direct: that in his absence his colleague Caius Licinius would take care that every thing necessary to be provided, or sent to the army, should be provided and sent; and that, in the meantime, audience might be given to the embassies of foreign nations." The usual sacrifice being duly offered, the first introduced were ambassadors from Alexandria, sent by King Ptolemy and Queen Cleopatra. They came into the senate-house dressed in mourning, with their hair and beard neglected, holding in their hands branches of olive: there they prostrated themselves, and their discourse was even more piteous than their dress. Antiochus, King of Syria, who had formerly been a hostage at Rome, had lately, under the honourable pretext of restoring the elder Ptolemy to the throne, made war on his younger brother, then in possession of Alexandria; and having gained the victory in a seafight off Pelusium, and thrown a temporary bridge across the Nile, he led over his army, and laid siege to Alexandria itself, to the great terror of the inhabitants; so that he seemed almost on the point of taking possession of that very opulent kingdom. The ambassadors, after complaining of these proceedings, besought the senate to succour those princes, the faithful friends of their empire. They said that such had been the kindness of the Roman people to Antiochus, such its influence over all kings and nations, that, if they only sent ambassadors to give him notice that the senate were displeased at war being made with princes in alliance with them, he would instantly retire from the walls of Alexandria, and lead his army home into Syria. But if this were not done, Ptolemy and Cleopatra would soon come to Rome in the character of dethroned exiles, which must excite some degree of shame in the Roman people, for having neglected to succour them in their extreme distress. The senate were so much affected by the supplications of the Alexandrians, that they immediately sent Caius Popilius La-

bas, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius, ambassadors, to put an end to the dispute between those kings. Their instructions were, to go first to Antiochus, then to Ptolemy; and to acquaint them that, unless hostilities were stopped, whichever party should give cause to their continuance must expect to be considered by the senate as neither a friend nor an ally.

20. These ambassadors set out within three days, in company with those of Alexandria; and on the last day of the feast of Minerva the commissioners arrived from Macedonia. Their coming had been so impatiently wished for, that, if it had not been very late in the day, the consuls would have assembled the senate immediately. Next day the senate met, and received the report of the commissioners. They stated that "the army had been led through pathless and difficult wilds into Macedonia, with more risk than advantage: that Pieria, to which its march had been directed, was then possessed by the king; and the two camps so close to each other, as to be separated only by the river Enipeus: that the king was not disposed to fight, nor was our general strong enough to compel him; and, besides, that the severity of the winter had interrupted all military operations: that the soldiers were maintained in idleness, and had not corn sufficient for more than six [days]: that the force of the Macedonians was said to amount to thirty thousand effective men: that if Appius Claudius had a sufficient force at Lychnidus, the king might be perplexed by his standing between two enemies; but that, as the case stood, both Appius and the troops under his command were in the utmost danger, unless either a regular army were speedily sent thither, or they were removed thence. From the camp," they stated, that "they had gone to the fleet; where they learned that many of the seamen had perished by sickness; that others, particularly such as came from Sicily, had gone off to their own homes; and that the ships were in want of men, while those who were on board had neither pay nor clothing: that Eumenes and his fleet, as if driven thither accidentally, had both come and gone away, without any apparent reason; nor did the intentions of that king seem to be thoroughly settled." While their report stated every particular in the conduct of Eumenes as dubious, it represented Attalus as steady and faithful in the highest degree.

21. After the commissioners were heard, Lucius Æmilius said that he then proposed for consideration the business of the war : and the senate decreed that "tribunes for eight legions should be appointed, half by the consuls and half by the people : but that none should be named for that year who had not held some office of magistracy : that, out of all the military tribunes, Lucius Æmilius should select such as he chose for the two legions that were to serve in Macedonia ; and that, as soon as the Latine festival should be finished, the said consul, with the Pretor Cneius Octavius, to whose lot the fleet had fallen, should repair to that province." To these was added a third, Lucius Anicius, the pretor who had the foreign jurisdiction ; for it was resolved that he should succeed Appius Claudius in the province of Illyria, near Lychnidus. The charge of raising recruits was laid on the Consul Caius Licinius, who was ordered to enlist, of Roman citizens, seven thousand foot and two hundred horse, and to demand from the Latine confederates seven thousand foot and four hundred horse ; and also to write to Cneius Servilius, governor of Gaul, to raise there six hundred horse. This force he was ordered to send, with all expedition, into Macedonia, to his colleague. It was resolved that there should be no more than two legions in that province, but that their numbers should be filled up so that each should contain six thousand foot and three hundred horse ; and that the rest of the foot and horse should be placed in the different garrisons ; that such men as were unfit for service should be discharged, and that the allies should be obliged to raise another body of ten thousand foot and eight hundred horse. These were assigned as a re-enforcement to Anicius, in addition to the two legions which he was ordered to carry into Illyria, consisting each of five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse ; and five thousand seamen were raised for the fleet. The Consul Licinius was ordered to employ two legions in the service of his province, and to add to them ten thousand foot and six hundred horse of the allies.

22. When the senate had passed these decrees, the Consul Lucius Æmilius went out from the senate-house into the assembly of the people, whom he addressed in a discourse to this effect : "Romans, I think I have perceived that your congratulations, on my obtaining, by lot, the province of Ma-

cedonia, were warmer than either when I was saluted consul, or on the day of my commencement in office ; for which I can assign no other reason than your having conceived an opinion that I shall be able to bring the war with Perseus, which has been long protracted, to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people. I trust that the gods also have favoured this disposal of the lots, and will give me their aid. That some of these consequences will ensue, I have reason to believe ; that the rest will, I have grounds to expect. One thing I know, and take on me to affirm, with certainty ; which is, that I will endeavour, by every exertion in my power, that the hope which you have conceived of me may not be frustrated. Every thing necessary for the service the senate has ordered : and, as it has been resolved that I am to go abroad immediately, and I do not wish to delay, my colleague Caius Licinius, whose excellent character you well know, will forward every measure with as much zeal as if he himself were to carry on that war. I request that full credit may be given to whatever I shall write to you or to the senate ; but that you will not encourage the propagation of rumours unsupported by authority : for, as the practice is at present (and I have observed it to be uncommonly frequent since this year began), no man can so entirely divest himself of all regard to common fame as not to let his spirits be damped. In every circle, and, truly, at every table, there are people who lead armies into Macedonia ; who know where the camp ought to be placed ; what posts ought to be occupied by troops ; when and through what pass that territory should be entered ; where magazines should be formed ; how provisions should be conveyed by land and sea ; and when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. And they not only determine what is best to be done, but, if any thing is done in any other manner than what they have pointed out, they arraign the consul, as if he were on trial before them. These are great impediments to those who have the management of affairs ; for every one cannot encounter injurious reports with the same constancy and firmness of mind as Fabius did, who chose to let his own ability be questioned through the folly of the people, rather than to mismanage the public business with a high reputation. I am not one of those who think that commanders ought at no time to receive advice ; on the contrary, I should deem that man more proud

than wise who regulated every proceeding by the standard of his own single judgment. What, then, is my opinion? That commanders should be counselled, chiefly, by persons of known talent; by those who have made the art of war their particular study, and whose knowledge is derived from experience; from those who are present at the scene of action, who see the country, who see the enemy; who see the advantages that occasions offer, and who, like people embarked in the same ship, are sharers of the danger. If, therefore, any one thinks himself qualified to give advice respecting the war which I am to conduct, which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the state, but let him come with me into Macedonia. He shall be furnished with a ship, a horse, a tent; even his travelling charges shall be defrayed. But if he thinks this too much trouble, and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not, on land, assume the office of a pilot. The city, in itself, furnishes abundance of topics for conversation; let it confine its passion for talking within its own precincts, and rest assured that we shall pay no attention to any councils but such as shall be framed within our camp." Soon after this speech, the Latine festival being celebrated on the day before the calends of April, and the sacrifice on the mount affording favourable omens, the consul, and Cneius Octavius, the pretor, set out directly for Macedonia. Some writers mention that the consul, at his departure, was escorted by multitudes unusually numerous; and that the people, with confident hope, presaged a conclusion of the Macedonian war, and the speedy return of the consul to a glorious triumph.

23. During these occurrences in Italy, Perseus, though he could not at first prevail on himself to complete the design which he had projected, of attaching to his party Gentius, King of Illyria, on account of the money which would be demanded for it, yet, when he found that the Romans had penetrated through the difficult passes, and that the final determination of the war drew near, resolved to defer it no longer; and having, by his ambassador Hippias, consented to pay three thousand talents of silver,* provided hostages were given on both sides, he now sent Pantauchus, one of his most

trusty friends, to conclude the business. Pantauchus met the Illyrian king at Medeo, in the province of Labeas, and there received his oath and the hostages. Gentius likewise sent an ambassador, named Olympio, to require an oath and hostages from Perseus. Together with him came persons to receive the money; and, by the advice of Pantauchus, to go to Rhodes, with ambassadors from Macedonia: for this purpose Parmenio and Morcus were appointed. Their instructions were, first, to receive the king's oath, the hostages, and money, and then to proceed to Rhodes; and it was hoped that, by the joint influence of the two kings, the Rhodians might be prevailed on to declare war against Rome, and that, if they were joined by that state, which was acknowledged to hold the first rank as a maritime power, the Romans would be precluded from every prospect of success, either on land or sea. On hearing of the approach of the Illyrians, Perseus marched at the head of all his cavalry, from his camp on the Enipeus, and met them at Ditis. There the articles agreed on were executed in the presence of the troops, who were drawn up in a circle for the purpose; for the king chose that they should be witness to the ratification of the treaty with Gentius, supposing that this event would add greatly to their confidence of success. The hostages were given and taken in the sight of all; those who were to receive the money were sent to Pella, where the king's treasure lay; and the persons who were to go to Rhodes with the Illyrian ambassadors were ordered to take ship to Thessalonica. There was present one Metrodorus, who had lately come from Rhodes, and who, on the authority of Dinon and Polyaratus, two principal members of that state, affirmed that the Rhodians were ready to join in the war; he was set at the head of the joint embassy.

24. At this time Perseus sent ambassadors to Eumenes and Antiochus, charged with the same message to both, which was such as the state of affairs might seem to suggest: that "a free state and a king were in their natures hostile to each other. That the practice of the Roman people was to attack kings singly one after another; and, what was more shameful, to work the destruction of them by the power of other kings. Thus, his father was overpowered by the aid of Attalus; and by the assistance of Eumenes, and of his father Philip, in part, Antiochus was vanquished; and now,

both Eumenes and Prusias were armed against himself. If the regal power should be abolished in Macedonia, the next in their way would be Asia, which they had already rendered, in part, their own, under the pretence of liberating the states; and next to that lay Syria. Already Prusias was honoured by them far beyond Eumenes; and already Antiochus, in a moment of victory, was forbid to touch Egypt, the prize of his arms." He desired each of them to "consider these matters seriously; and to guard against future contingences, either by compelling the Romans to make peace with him, or, if they should persist in such an unjust war, by treating them as common enemies." The message to Antiochus was sent openly; the ambassador to Eumenes went under the pretence of ransoming prisoners. But some more secret business was transacted between them, which, in addition to the jealousy and distrust already conceived by the Romans against Eumenes, [brought on him charges] of a heavier nature: for they considered him as a traitor, and nearly as an enemy, while the two kings laboured to overreach each other in schemes of fraud and avarice. There was a Cretan, called Cydas, an intimate of Eumenes; this man had formerly conferred, at Amphipolis, with one Chimarus, a countryman of his own, serving in the army of Perseus; and he, afterward, had one meeting with Menecrates, and another with Archidamus, both officers under the king, at Demetrias, close under the wall of the town. Cryphon, too, who was sent on that business, had, before that, executed two embassies to the same Eumenes. These conferences and embassies were notorious; but what the subject of them was, or what agreement had taken place between the kings, remained a secret.

25. Now the truth of the matter was this: Eumenes neither wished success to Perseus, nor intended to employ his arms against him; and his ill-will arose not so much from the enmity which they inherited from their fathers, as from the personal quarrels which had broken out between themselves. The jealousy of the two kings was not so moderate that Eumenes could, with patience, have seen Perseus acquiring so vast a share of power and of fame as must fall to his lot if he conquered the Romans. Besides which, he saw that Perseus, from the commencement of the war, had tried every means which he could devise to bring about a peace; and

every day, as the danger approached nearer, his wishes for it grew stronger; insomuch, that all his thoughts and actions were directed to that alone. He considered, too, that as the war had been protracted beyond the expectations of the Romans, their commanders and senate would not be averse from putting an end to it, attended as it was with so great inconvenience and difficulty. Having discovered this inclination in both parties, he concluded that, from the disgust of the stronger party, and the fears of the weaker, a pacification would probably ensue in the ordinary course of things; and therefore he wished to act in such a manner as might enable him to assume to himself the merit of having effected a reconciliation. He therefore sometimes laboured to stipulate for a consideration for not affording assistance to the Romans, either on sea or land; at other times, for bringing about a peace with them. He demanded, for not interfering in the war, one thousand talents;* for effecting a peace, one thousand five hundred;† and for his sincerity in either case, he professed himself willing, not only to make oath, but to give hostages also. Perseus, stimulated by his fears, showed the greatest readiness in the beginning of the negotiation, and treated on the article respecting the hostages; when it was agreed that, on their being received, they should be sent to Crete. But when the sum required came to be mentioned, there he hesitated; remarking that, in the case of kings of their high character, one, at least, of the considerations was too mean and sordid, both with respect to the giver, and still more so with respect to the receiver. He was sufficiently inclined to purchase a peace with Rome, but declined paying the money until the business should be concluded; proposing to lodge it, in the meantime, in the temple of Samothrace. As that island was under his own dominion, Eumenes said that the money might as well be at Pella; and he struggled hard to obtain some part of it at the present. Thus, after all their endeavours to circumvent each other, they gained nothing but disgrace.

26. This was not the only business which Perseus left unfinished from motives of avarice. It is seen that for a small sum of money he might have procured, through Eumenes, a secure peace, well purchased, even with half of his kingdom;

* 193,750*l*.† 290,625*l*.

while, if defrauded, he might have exposed him to public view as an enemy laden with the hire of treachery, and drawn on him the just resentment of the Romans. It was from the same disposition that the alliance of King Gentius, when just brought to a conclusion, with the assistance of a large [army] of Gauls, who had penetrated through Illyria, and offered themselves to him, was lost: of these came ten thousand horsemen, and the same number of footmen. The practice of the latter was to keep pace with the horses in their movements; and, when any of the riders fell, to mount in their place, and carry on the fight. They had stipulated that each horseman should receive in immediate payment ten golden Philippics; each footman, five; and their commander, one thousand. Perseus went from his camp on the Enipeus, with half of his forces, to meet them; and issued orders through the towns and villages near the road to prepare provisions, so that they might have plenty of corn, wine, and cattle. He brought with him some horses, trappings, and cloaks, for presents to the chiefs; and a small quantity of gold to be divided among a few; for the multitude, he supposed, might be amused with hopes. He advanced as far as the city of Almana, and encamped on the bank of the river Axius, at which time the army of the Gauls lay near Desudaba, in Mædica, waiting for the promised hire. Thither he sent Antigonus, one of his nobles, with directions that the said army should remove their camp to Bylazor, a place in Pæonia, and that their chiefs should come to him. They were at this time seventy-five miles distant from the river Axius and the king's camp. Antigonus, in his message, told them what great plenty of every thing was provided on the road by the king's directions, and what presents of apparel, money, and horses he intended for them on their arrival. They answered, that they would judge of those things when they saw them; at the same time asking him whether, according to their stipulation for immediate payment, he had brought with him the gold which was to be distributed to each footman and horseman? To this no direct answer was given; on which Clondicus, their prince, said, "Go back, then, and tell your king that, until they receive the gold and the hostages, the Gauls will never move one step farther." The king, on receipt of this declaration, called a council; and, as it was very plain what advice all the members would give, he, being a better guardian of his

money than of his kingdom, began to descant on the perfidy and savage behaviour of the Gauls. "The disasters," he said, "of many states demonstrated that it would be dangerous to admit such a multitude into Macedonia, lest they might feel such allies more troublesome than their Roman enemies. Five thousand horsemen would be enough for them to employ in the war, and that number they need not be afraid to receive."

27. Every one understood him : but as none had the courage to declare their opinion when asked, Antigonus was sent again, with a message, that the king chose to employ only five thousand horsemen, and set no value on the rest of their number. When the barbarians heard this they began to murmur, and show a great deal of anger at being brought so far from home ; but Clondicus again asked him, whether he would pay, even the five thousand, the hire agreed on. To this question, too, he received only evasive answers ; on which the Gauls, dismissing the insidious envoy unhurt, which was what he himself had scarcely hoped, returned home to the Danube, after utterly wasting such lands of Thrace as lay near their road. Now had this body of troops, while the king lay quiet on the Enipeus, been led through the passes of Perrhæbia into Thessaly, it might not only have stripped that country so bare that the Romans could not expect supplies from thence, but might even have destroyed the cities themselves, while Perseus, by detaining his enemy at the river, would have put it out of their power to succour their allies. This done, the Romans had even found it difficult enough to take care of themselves, since they could neither stay where they were after losing Thessaly, whence their army drew sustenance, nor move forward, as the camp of the Macedonians [stood in their way. By this error Perseus enlivened the hopes of the Romans], and damped not a little [those of the Macedonians], who had placed much of their dependance on the prospect of that re-enforcement. Through the same love of riches he alienated King Gentius from his interest. When he paid at Pella three hundred talents to the persons sent by Gentius, he allowed them to seal up the money. He then ordered the talents to be carried to Pantauchus, and which he desired should be given immediately to the king. His people, who had charge of the money sealed with the seals of the Illyrians, had directions to proceed by short journeys ; and when they

should come to the bounds of Macedonia, to halt there, and wait for a message from him. Gentius, having received this small portion of the money, and being incessantly urged by Pantauchus to commence hostilities against the Romans, threw into custody Marcus Perperna and Lucius Petilius, who happened to come at that time as ambassadors. As soon as Perseus heard this, thinking that the Illyrian had now laid himself under a necessity of waging war with the Romans at least, he sent to recall his money-carriers, as if to make a saving for the Romans, and that their booty, on his being conquered, might be as great as possible. Cryphon, too, returned from Eumenes, without having succeeded in any of his secret negotiations. The parties themselves had mentioned publicly that the business of the prisoners was concluded; and Eumenes, to elude suspicion, informed the consul that it was so.

28. On the return of Cryphon from Eumenes, Perseus, disappointed in his hopes from that quarter, sent Antenor and Callippus, the commanders of his fleet, with forty barks, to which were added five heavy galleys, to Tenedos; that, spreading among the islands of the Cyclades, they might protect the vessels sailing to Macedonia with corn. This squadron, setting sail from Cassandrea, steered first to the harbour at the foot of Mount Athos, and crossing over thence, with mild weather, to Tenedos, found lying in the harbour a number of Rhodian undecked ships, under the command of Eudamus; these they did not offer to molest, but, after conversing with their officers in friendly terms, suffered them to pursue their course. Then, learning that, on the other side of the island, fifty transports of their own were shut up by a squadron of Eumenes, commanded by Damius, which lay in the mouth of the harbour, they sailed round with all haste; and the enemy's ships retiring through fear, they sent on the transports to Macedonia, under convoy of ten barks, which had orders to return to Tenedos as soon as they saw them safe. Accordingly, on the ninth day after, they rejoined the fleet, then lying at Sigæum. From thence they sailed over to Subota, an island between Elea and Athos. The next day, after the fleet had reached Subota, it happened that thirty-five vessels, of the kind called horse-transports, sent by Eumenes to Attalus, and which had sailed from Elea, with Gallic horsemen and their horses, were steering towards

Phanæ, a promontory of Chios, from whence they intended to cross over to Macedonia. A signal being given to Antenor, from a post of observation, that these ships were passing along the main, he left Subota, and met them between Cape Erythræ and Chios, where the strait is narrowest. Eumenes's officers could with difficulty believe that a Macedonian fleet was cruising in that sea; they imagined that they were Romans, or that Attalus, or some people sent home by him from the Roman camp, were on their way to Pergamus. But when, on their nearer approach, the shape of the vessels was plainly perceived, and when the briskness of their rowing, and their prows being directed straight against the others, proved that they were enemies, dismay seized all on board; for they had no hope of being able to make resistance, their ships being of an unwieldy kind, and the Gauls, even when left quiet, ill able to live at sea. Some, who were nearest to the shore of the continent, swam to Erythræ; some, crowding all their sail, ran the ships aground near Chios; and, leaving their horses behind, fled thither in haste. The barks, however, effected a landing nearer to the city, where the access was more convenient; but the Macedonians overtook and put to the sword the flying Gauls, some on the road, and some before the gate, where they were refused entrance; for the people had shut it, not knowing who they were that fled or who that pursued. About eight hundred Gauls were killed, and two hundred made prisoners. Of the horses, some were lost in the sea, by the ships being wrecked, and others were hamstrung by the Macedonians on the shore. Antenor ordered the ten same barks which he had employed before to carry twenty horses of extraordinary beauty, with the prisoners, to Thessalonica, and to return to the fleet as speedily as possible, saying that he would wait for them at Phanæ. The fleet stayed three days at Chios, and then proceeded to Phanæ; where, being joined by the ten barks sooner than was expected, they set sail, and crossed the Ægean Sea to Delos.

29. About this time the Roman ambassadors, Caius Popilius, Caius Decimius, and Caius Hostilius, having sailed from Chalcis with three quinqueremes, arrived at Delos, and found there forty Macedonian barks and five quinqueremes belonging to Eumenes. The sacred character of the island secured all parties from any kind of violence; so that the Roman and Mace-

donian seamen, and those of Eumenes, used to meet promiscuously in Apollo's fane. Antenor, the commander of Perseus's fleet, having learned, by signals from his watchposts, that several transport ships were passing by at sea, went himself in pursuit, with one of his barks (sending the other half to cruise among the Cyclades), and sunk or plundered every ship he met with. Popilius and Eumenes assisted as many as they were able during the day; but in the night, the Macedonians sailing out, generally with two or three vessels, passed unseen. About this time ambassadors from Macedonia and Illyria came together to Rhodes. The attention paid to them was the greater, in consequence of their squadron cruising freely among the Cyclades, and over all the Ægean Sea, and likewise on account of the junction of Perseus and Gentius, and of the report of a great body of Gauls, both horse and foot, being on their march in aid of those kings. Dinon and Polyaratus, the warm partisans of Perseus, now took fresh courage, and the Rhodians not only gave a favourable answer to the ambassadors, but declared publicly that "they would put an end to the war by their own influence; and therefore desired the kings to dispose themselves to accede to an accommodation."

30. It was now the beginning of spring, and the new commanders had arrived in their provinces; the Consul Æmilius in Macedonia, Octavius at Oreum, where the fleet lay, and Anicius in Illyria, to carry on the war against Gentius. This prince, who was the son of Pleuratus, King of Illyria, and his queen Eurydice, had two brothers, one called Plator, by both parents, the other Caravantius, by the same mother only. From the latter, as descended of ignoble ancestors on his father's side, he apprehended no competition; but, in order to secure himself on the throne, he had put to death Plator, and two of his most active friends, Etritius and Epicadus. It was rumoured that he was actuated by jealousy towards his surviving brother, who had concluded a treaty of marriage with Etula, the daughter of Honorius, prince of the Dardaniens, supposing him to intend, by that match, to engage that nation in his interest; and this supposition was rendered the more probable by Gentius marrying her after the death of Plator. From this time, when he was delivered from the fear of his brother, his treatment of his subjects became highly oppressive, and the natural violence of his tem-

per was inflamed by an immoderate use of wine. Having been prevailed on, as was mentioned above, to go to war with the Romans, he collected all his forces, amounting to fifteen thousand men, at Lissus. From thence, detaching his brother, with one thousand foot and fifty horse, to reduce, either by force or terror, the province of Cavia, he marched himself to Bassania, a city five miles distant from Lissus. As the inhabitants were in alliance with Rome, he first sent emissaries to sound their intentions, who found them determined rather to endure a siege than surrender. In Cairra, the people of the town of Burnium cheerfully opened their gates to Caravantius on his arrival; but another town, called Caravantis, refused him admittance. He spread depredations over their lands, but many of his straggling soldiers were killed by parties of the peasants. By this time Appius Claudius, having joined to his former force some bodies of auxiliaries, composed of Bulinians, Apollonians, and Dyrrachians, had left his winter quarters, and was encamped near the river Genusus. Having heard of the treaty between Perseus and Gentius, and being highly provoked at the ill-treatment offered by the latter to the ambassadors, he declared his determination to employ his army against him. The Pretor Anicius, who was now at Apollonia, being informed of what passed in Illyria, despatched a letter to Appius, desiring him to wait for him at the Genusus; and, in three days after, he arrived in the camp. [Having added] to the auxiliary troops which he then had two thousand foot and two hundred horse of the Parthinians (the foot commanded by Epicadus, and the horse by Agalsus), he prepared to march into Illyria, where his principal object at present was the raising the siege of Bassania. But his enterprise was retarded by an account brought him, of the seacoast being ravaged by a number of the enemy's barks. These were eighty vessels, which, by the advice of Pantauchus, Gentius had sent to waste the lands of the Dyrrachians and Apollonians. [The Roman fleet was then lying near Apollonia. Anicius hastily repaired thither, soon overtook the Illyrian plunderers, brought them to an engagement, and defeating them with very little trouble, took many of their ships, and compelled the rest to retire to Illyria. Returning thence to the camp at the Genusus, he hastened to the relief of Bassania. Gentius did not wait the pretor's coming; but, raising the siege, retired to

Scodra with such precipitate haste, that he left part of his army behind. This was a large body of forces, which, if their courage had been supported by the presence of their commander, might have given some check to the Romans ; but, as he had forsaken them], they surrendered.

31. The cities of that country, one after another, followed the example ; their own inclinations being encouraged by the justice and clemency which the Roman pretor showed to all. The army then advanced to Scodra, which was the most important place in the hands of the enemy, not merely because Gentius had chosen it for the metropolis of his kingdom, but because it has by far the strongest fortifications of any in the territory of the Labeatians, and is of very difficult access. Two sides of it are defended by two rivers ; the eastern side by the Olausula, and the western by the Barbana, which rises out of the Lake Labeatus. These two rivers, uniting their streams, fall into the river Oriuns, which, running down from Mount Scodrus, and being augmented by many others, empties itself into the Adriatic Sea. Mount Scodrus is much the highest hill in all that country ; at its foot, towards the east, lies Dardania ; towards the south, Macedonia ; and towards the west, Illyria. Notwithstanding that the town was so strong, from the nature of its situation, and was garrisoned by the whole force of the Illyrian nation, with the king himself at their head, yet the Roman pretor, encouraged by the happy success of his first enterprises, and hoping that things would proceed in the same train in which they had hitherto gone, and thinking also that a sudden alarm might have a powerful effect, advanced to the walls with his troops in order of battle. But if the garrison had kept their gates shut, and manned the walls and towers of the gates with soldiers, they might have repulsed the Romans and baffled all their attempts ; instead of which they marched out of the town, and, on equal ground, commenced a battle with more courage than they supported it ; for, being forced to give way, they crowded on one another in their retreat ; and above two hundred having fallen in the very entrance of the gate, the rest were so terrified, that Gentius immediately despatched Teuticus and Bellus, two of the first men of the nation, to the pretor, to beg a truce, in order to gain time to deliberate on the state of his affairs. He was allowed three days for the purpose ; and, as the Roman camp

was about five hundred paces from the city, he went on board a ship, and sailed up the river Barbana, into the Lake of Labeatus, as if in search of a retired place where he might hold his councils; but, as afterward appeared, he was led by a groundless report that his brother Caravantius was coming, with many thousands of soldiers collected in the country to which he had been sent. This rumour dying away, on the third day he sailed down the river to Scodra; and, after sending forward messengers to request an interview with the pretor, and obtaining his consent, came into the camp. He began his discourse with reproaches against himself for the folly of his conduct; then descended to tears and prayers, and, falling at the pretor's knees, gave himself up into his power. He was at first desired to keep up his spirits, and was even invited to supper: he was allowed to go back into the city to his people, and for that day was entertained by the pretor with every mark of respect. On the day following he was delivered into custody to Caius Cassius, a military tribune; to which unhappy situation he had let himself be reduced for a consideration of ten talents, scarcely the hire of a party of gladiators.

32. The first thing Anicius did, after taking possession of Scodra, was to order the ambassadors, Petilius and Perperna, to be sought for and brought to him; and he enabled them to appear again with a proper degree of splendour. He then immediately despatched Perperna to seize the king's friends and relations; who, hastening to Medeo, a city of Labeatia, conducted to the camp at Scodra, Etleva, the king's consort, his brother Caravantius, with his two sons, Scordiletus and Pleuratus. Anicius, having brought the Illyrian war to a conclusion within thirty days, sent Perperna to Rome with the news of his success; and in a few days after, King Gentius himself, with his mother, queen, children, and brother, and other Illyrians of distinction. It was a singular circumstance respecting this war, that people in Rome received an account of its being finished before they knew it was begun. Perseus, in the meantime, laboured under dreadful apprehensions on account of the approach both of the new Consul Æmilius, whose threatenings, as he heard, were highly alarming, and also of the Pretor Octavius; for he dreaded the Roman fleet and the danger which threatened the seacoast no less than he did the army. Eumenes and Athenagoras commanded at The-

salonica, with a small garrison of two thousand targeteers. Thither he sent Androcles as governor, and ordered him to keep the troops encamped close by the naval arsenals. He ordered one thousand horse under Antigonus to Ænia, to guard the seacoast; directing them, whenever they should hear of the enemy's fleet approaching the shore in any part, instantly to hasten thither to protect the country people. Five thousand Macedonians were sent to garrison the mountains Pythium and Petra, commanded by Histæus, Theogenes, and Milo. After making these detachments, he set about fortifying the bank of the river Enipeus, for the channel being nearly dry, the passage was practicable; and in order that all the men might apply themselves to this work, the women were obliged to bring provisions from the neighbouring cities into the camp. He ordered the soldiers [to fetch timber] from the woods, which were not far distant, [and erected on the bank such formidable works, strengthened with towers and engines, as he trusted would effectually bar the passage against any effort of the Romans. On the other side, the more diligence and caution Paulus saw the Macedonians use, the more assiduously did he study to devise some means of frustrating those hopes which the enemy had not without reason conceived. But he suffered immediate distress from the scarcity of water, the river furnishing but little, and that putrid, in the part contiguous to the sea.

33. The consul, after searching in every place in the neighbourhood for water, and being told that none could be found], at last ordered the water-carriers to attend him to the shore, which was not three hundred paces distant, and there to dig holes in several places not far from each other. The great height of the mountains gave him reason to suppose that they contained in their bowels several bodies of water, the branches of which made their way under ground to the sea, and mixed with its waters; and this appeared the more probable, as they discharged no streams above ground. Scarcely was the surface of the sand removed, when springs began to boil up, small at first and muddy, but in a little time they threw out clear water in great plenty, as if through the favourable interference of the gods. This circumstance added greatly to the reputation and influence of the general in the minds of the soldiers. He then ordered them to get ready their arms; and went himself, with the tribunes and first centurions, to

examine the river, in hopes of finding a passage where the descent would be easy, and where the ascending the other bank would be least difficult. After taking a sufficient view of these matters, he made it his first care to provide that, in the movements of the army, every thing should be done regularly and without noise, at the first order and beck of the general. Though notice was proclaimed of what was to be done, every one did not distinctly hear; and as the orders received were not clear, some did more than was ordered, while others did less; while dissonant shouts were raised in every quarter, insomuch that the enemy knew sooner than the soldiers themselves what was intended. He therefore directed that the military tribune should communicate secretly to the first centurion of the legion, then he to the next, and that so on, in order that each should tell the next to him in rank what was requisite to be done, whether the instructions were to be conveyed from front to rear, or from rear to front. According to a practice lately introduced, the sentinels carried shields to their posts; this he forbade; for as a sentinel did not go to fight, but to watch, he had no occasion for arms; it was his duty, when he perceived an enemy approaching, to retire and give the alarm. They used to stand with their helmets on, and their shields erected on the ground before them; when tired, they leaned on their spears; or, laying their heads on the edge of their shields, stood dozing in such a manner, that from the glittering of their arms they could be seen afar off by the enemy, while themselves could see nothing. He likewise altered the practice of the advanced guards. Formerly the guards were kept on duty through the whole day, all under arms, the horsemen with their horses bridled; and when this happened in summer, under a continual scorching sun, both men and horses were so much exhausted by the heat and languor contracted in so many hours, that very often, when attacked by fresh troops, a small number was able to get the better of a much superior one. He therefore ordered that the party which mounted guard in the morning should be relieved at noon by another, which was to do the duty for the rest of the day; by which means they would never be in danger of the like easy defeat.

34. Æmilius, after publishing in a general assembly his orders for these regulations, added observations of the same purport with those contained in the speech which he had

made in the city, that "it was the business of the commander alone to consider what was proper to be done, sometimes singly, sometimes in conjunction with those whom he should call to council; and that such as were not called ought not to pronounce judgment on affairs either in public or in private. That it was a soldier's business to attend to these three things,—his body, that he may keep it in perfect strength and agility; his armour, that it may be always in good order; with his stores of all kinds, so as to be ready in case of a sudden order; and to rest assured that all other matters relating to him will be directed by the immortal gods and his captain. That in any army where the soldiers formed plans, and that the chief was called, first one way, then another, by the voice of the idle multitude, nothing could ever succeed. For his part," he declared that "he would take care, as was the duty of a general, to afford them occasion of acting with success. On their part, they were to make no inquiries whatever as to his designs; but when the signal was given, to discharge the duty of a soldier." Having thus admonished them, he dismissed the assembly, while the veterans themselves acknowledged that on that day, for the first time, they had, like recruits, been taught the business of a soldier. Nor did they by such expressions only demonstrate their high approbation of the consul's discourse; but the effect of it on their behaviour was immediate. In the whole camp not one person was to be seen idle; some were employed in sharpening their weapons; others in scouring their helmets and cheek-pieces, their shields and breastplates; some fitted their armour to their bodies, and tried how well they could move their limbs under it; some brandished their spears, others flourished their swords, and tried the points; so that it could be easily perceived that their intention was, whenever they should come to battle, to finish the war at once, either by a glorious victory or an honourable death. On the other side, when Perseus saw that, in consequence of the arrival of the consul and of the opening of the spring, all was motion and bustle among the Romans; and that their general had pitched his camp on the opposite bank of the Enipeus, where he employed himself busily, sometimes in going round and examining all his works, with a view of finding some place where he might pass the river; [and sometimes in preparing every thing requisite for attack or defence; he exerted himself no less dil-

igently on his part to rouse the courage of his soldiers, and add strength to his defences, as if he expected an immediate engagement. However, though both parties were full of ardour, they lay a long time very near each other without any action.

35. In the meantime, news was received that King Gentius had been defeated in Illyria by the Pretor Anicius; and that himself, his family, and his whole kingdom, were in the hands of the commonwealth;] which event greatly raised the spirits of the Romans, and struck no small degree of terror into the Macedonians and their king. At first, Perseus endeavoured to suppress the intelligence, and sent messengers to Pantauchus, who was on his way from that country, forbidding him to come near the camp; but some of his people had already seen certain boys carried away among the Illyrian hostages: and it is certain that the more pains there are used to conceal any circumstances, the more readily they are divulged, through the talkative disposition of people employed in the courts of kings. About this time ambassadors came to the camp from Rhodes, with the same message which had excited so much resentment in the Roman senate. It was now heard by the council with much greater indignation than at Rome; some [even advised] that they should be instantly driven out of the camp; but the consul said that he would give them an answer in fifteen days. But still, to show how little regard was paid to the mediation of the Rhodians, he began to consult on the plan of his future operations. Some, particularly the younger officers, advised to force their way across the Enipeus, and through the enemy's works. "When they should advance in close order and make an assault, the Macedonians," they said, "would never be able to withstand them. They had been, last year, beaten out of many fortresses much higher and better fortified, and furnished with much stronger garrisons." Others recommended that Octavius, with the fleet, should sail to Thessalonica; and, by committing depredations on the seacoast, make it necessary for the king to divide his forces; so that, when, on the appearance of another enemy behind him, he should turn about to protect the interior part of the kingdom, he would be forced to leave a passage over the Enipeus open in some place or other. The consul himself was of opinion, that the nature of the bank, and the works erected on it, presented insuperable dif-

facilities ; and, besides its being everywhere furnished with engines, he had been informed that the enemy were remarkable for using missile weapons with uncommon skill, and that their aim was almost certain. The consul's judgment leaned quite another way : as soon, therefore, as the council broke up, he sent for Schœnus and Menophilus, Perrhæbian merchants, whom he knew to be men of probity and good sense, and examined them in private about the nature of the passes leading into Perrhæbia. They told him that the places themselves were not difficult, but that they were occupied by parties of the king's troops : from which he conceived hopes of being able to beat off those parties, by making a sudden attack with a strong force in the night, when they were off their guard. For he considered that "javelins, and arrows, and other missile weapons, were useless at such a season ; since, when combatants closed together in a throng, the business must depend on the sword, in the exercise of which the Romans had a decided superiority." He resolved to employ those two men as guides ; and, sending for the Pretor Octavius, explained to him what he intended, ordering him to sail directly with the fleet to Heracleus, and to have in readiness there ten days' provisions for one thousand men. He then sent Publius Scipio Nasica, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, his own son, with five thousand chosen men, to Heracleus, as if they were to embark in the fleet, to ravage the coast of the interior parts of Macedonia, as had been proposed in the council. He told them, in private, that there were provisions prepared for them on board, so that they should have no delay. He then ordered the guides to divide the road in such a manner that they might attack Pythium at the fourth watch on the third day. He himself, on the day following, in order to confine the king's attention from the view of distant matters, attacked his advanced guards in the middle of the channel of the river, where the fight was maintained by the light infantry on both sides, for the bottom was so uneven that heavy arms could not be used. The slope of each bank was three hundred paces long, and the breadth of the channel, which was of various depths, somewhat more than a mile. In this middle space the fight was carried on, while the king on one side, and the consul, with his legions, on the other, stood spectators on the ramparts of their camps. At a distance, the king's troops had the advantage in fighting with missile

weapons ; but in close fight the Roman soldier was more steady, and was better defended, either with a target or a Ligurian buckler. About noon the consul ordered the signal of retreat to be given, and thus the battle ended for that day, after considerable numbers had fallen on both sides. Next morning at sunrise the fight was renewed with greater fury, as their passions had been irritated by the former contest ; but the Romans were dreadfully annoyed, not only by those with whom they were immediately engaged, but much more by the multitudes that stood posted in the towers, with missiles of every sort, particularly stones ; so that, whenever they advanced towards the enemy's bank, the weapons thrown from the engines reached even the hindmost of their men. The consul's loss on this occasion was much greater than before ; and, somewhat later in the day, he called off his men from the fight. On the third day he declined fighting, and moved down to the lowest side of the camp, as if intending to attempt a passage through an intrenchment which stretched down to the sea.

36. Perseus, [who did not extend his cares beyond] the objects that lay before his eyes, [bent all his thoughts and exertions to stop the progress of the enemy in the quarter where he lay. In the meantime, Publius Nasica, with the detachment under his command, punctually executed the consul's orders. Arriving at the appointed hour at Pythium, he soon dislodged the guard, which was commanded by Milo, Histiaüs, and Theogenes, and pursued them down into the plains. This event threw Perseus into the greatest perplexity, for, as the road was now open, he had reason to fear being surrounded. After long deliberation, he determined to give battle : and, drawing back to Pydna, chose a very advantageous position, and made the most prudent dispositions for ensuring success. Æmilius being rejoined by the party under Nasica, marched directly against the enemy ; and, on coming within sight, was not a little surprised at the formidable appearance of their army, in respect of their numbers and the strength of the men, as well as the judicious order in which it was formed. The season of the year] was a little after the summer solstice ; the time of the day was approaching towards noon ; and his march had been incommoded by great quantities of dust, and the increasing heat of the sun. Lassitude and thirst were already felt, and both would certainly be ag-

gravated by mid-day coming on. He resolved, therefore, not to expose his men in that condition to an enemy fresh and in full vigour; but so great was the ardour for battle on both sides, that the general had occasion for as much art to elude the wishes of his own men as those of the enemy. He urged the tribunes to hasten the forming of the troops, went himself round the ranks, and with exhortations inflamed their courage. At first, they called to him for the signal briskly; but afterward, as the heat increased, their looks became less lively, and their voices fainter, while many stood resting on their shields, or leaning on their javelins. He then, without farther disguise, ordered the foremost ranks to measure out the front of a camp, and store the baggage; on seeing which, the soldiers openly showed themselves rejoiced at not having been compelled to fight when they were wearied with marching and with the scorching heat. Immediately about the general were the lieutenant-generals, and the commanders of the foreign troops; among others Attalus, who, when they thought that the consul intended to fight (for even to them he did not disclose his intention of delaying), had all approved the measure. On this sudden alteration of his plan, while all the rest were silent, Nasica alone ventured to advise the consul, not to let slip from his hands, by shunning a battle, an enemy who had baffled former commanders in the same way. "There was reason to fear," he said, "that he would march off in the night; and then he must be pursued, with extreme toil and danger, into the heart of Macedonia; and the troops must be led about, as under former generals, wandering through the glens and forests of the Macedonian mountains. He therefore earnestly recommended to attack the enemy while he had him in an open plain, and not to lose so fair an opportunity of obtaining a victory as now presented itself." The consul, not in the least offended at the liberty taken by a youth of his distinguished character in offering his advice, answered: "Nasica, I once thought as you do now; hereafter, you will come to think as I do. By long experience in war, I have learned when it is proper to fight, and when to abstain from fighting. It would not be right in me, at present, standing at the head of the troops, to explain to you the causes that render it better to rest to-day. Ask my reasons some other time. At present you will acquiesce in the judgment of an old commander." The youth was silent,

concluding that the consul certainly saw some objections to fighting which did not appear to him.

37. Paulus, as soon as he saw the camp marked out, and the baggage laid up, drew off, first, the veterans from the rear line, then the first-rank men, while the spearmen stood in the front, lest the enemy might make any attempt; and lastly the spearmen, beginning at the right wing, and leading them away gradually, by single companies. Thus were the infantry drawn off without tumult; and, in the meantime, the cavalry and light infantry faced the enemy; nor were the cavalry recalled from their station until the rampart and trench were finished. The king, though he was disposed to have given battle that day, was yet satisfied; since his men knew that the delay was owing to the enemy; and he led back his troops to their station. When the fortifications of the Roman camp were finished, Caius Sulpicius Gallus, a military tribune of the second legion, who had been pretor the year before, with the consul's permission, collected the soldiers in assembly, and gave them notice, lest they should any of them consider the matter as a prodigy, that "on the following night the moon would be eclipsed, from the second hour to the fourth." He mentioned that, "as this happened in the course of nature, at stated times, it could be known and foretold. As, therefore, they did not wonder at the regular rising and setting of the sun and moon, or at the moon's sometimes shining with a full orb, and sometimes in its wane, showing only small horns, so neither ought they to construe as a portent its being obscured, when covered with the shadow of the earth." On the night preceding the day before the nones of September, at the hour mentioned, the eclipse took place. The Roman soldiers thought the wisdom of Gallus almost divine; but the Macedonians were shocked, as at a dismal prodigy, foreboding the fall of their kingdom and the ruin of the nation; nor did their soothsayers explain it otherwise. Their camp was filled with shouting and yelling, until the moon, emerging, sent forth its light. Both armies had been so eager for an engagement, that next day both the king and the consul were censured by many of their respective men for having separated without a battle. The king could readily excuse himself, not only as the enemy had led back his troops into camp, but also, as he had posted men on ground of such a nature, that the phalanx (which

even a small inequality of surface renders useless) could not advance on it. The consul, besides appearing to have neglected an opportunity of fighting, and to give the enemy room to go off in the night, if he were so inclined, was thought to waste time at the present, under pretence of offering sacrifice, though the signal had been displayed at the first light for going out to the field. At last, about the third hour, the sacrifices being duly performed, he summoned a council, and there too he was deemed by several to spin out, in talking and unseasonable consultation, the time that ought to be employed in action; but after many discourses of this sort had passed, the consul addressed them in a speech of the following purport.

38. "Publius Nasica, a youth of uncommon merit, was the only one of those who were for immediate fight that disclosed his sentiments to me; and even he was afterward silent, appearing to have come over to my opinion. Some others have thought proper rather to cavil at their general's conduct in his absence, than to offer advice in his presence. Now I shall, without the least reluctance, make known to you, Publius Nasica, and to any who, with less openness, entertained the same opinion with you, my reasons for deferring an engagement. For, so far am I from being sorry for having rested yesterday, that I am convinced that by that means I preserved the army. Whoever now thinks otherwise, let him come forward, if he pleases, and take with me a review of the numerous advantages that were on the enemy's side, and the disadvantages on ours. In the first place, how far they surpass us in numbers, I am sure not one of you was at any time ignorant; and yesterday you had ocular demonstration, when their line was drawn out. Of our small force, a fourth part had been left to guard the baggage; and you know that they are not the worst of the soldiers who are left on that duty. But can we believe it a matter of little moment, that, with the blessing of the gods, we shall this day, if judged proper, or to-morrow at farthest, march to battle out of this our own camp, where we have lodged last night? Is there no difference, whether you order a soldier to take arms in his own tent, when he has not suffered any fatigue, either from a long march or laborious work, after he has enjoyed his natural rest, and is fresh, so as to lead him into the field vigorous both in body and mind; or whether, when he is wea-

sied by such a march, or fatigued with carrying a load ; while he is wet with sweat, and while his throat is parched with thirst, and his mouth and eyes filled with dust, you expose him, under a scorching noonday sun, to an enemy who has had full repose, and who brings into the battle his strength unimpaired by any previous cause ? Is there any (I appeal to the gods) so dastardly, that, if matched in this manner, he would not overcome the bravest man ? We must consider that the enemy had, quite at their leisure, formed their line of battle ; had recruited their spirits, and were standing in regular order ; whereas we must have formed our line in hurry and confusion, and have engaged before the proper dispositions were completed.

89. " But, to drop the consideration of the unavoidable irregularity and disorder of our line, should we have had a camp fortified, a watering-place provided, and the passage to it secured by troops, with a thorough knowledge of all the country round ; or should we have been without any one spot of our own, except the naked field on which we fought ? Your fathers considered a fortified camp as a harbour of safety in all emergencies ; out of which they were to march to battle, and in which, after being tossed in the storm of fight, they had a safe retreat. For that reason, besides enclosing it with works, they strengthen it farther with a numerous guard ; for any general who lost his camp, though he should have been victorious in the field, yet was deemed vanquished. A camp is the residence of the victor, a refuge for the conquered. How many armies, after being worsted in the field, and driven within their ramparts, have, at their own time, and sometimes the next moment, sallied out and defeated their victors ? This military settlement is another native country to the soldier : the rampart is as the wall of his city, and his own tent his habitation and his home. Should we have fought while in that unsettled state, and without quarters prepared, to what place, in case of being beaten, were we to retire ? In opposition to these considerations of the difficulties and impediments to the fighting at that time, one argument is urged. What if the enemy had marched off in the course of last night ? What immense fatigue, it is observed, must have been undergone in pursuing him to the remotest parts of Macedonia. But for my part I take it as a certainty, that, if he had had any intention of re-

treating, he would neither have waited, nor drawn out his troops to battle. For how much easier could he have gone off while we were at a great distance, than now, when we are close at his back? Nor could he go unobserved either by day or by night. What could be more desirable to us, who were obliged to attack their camp, defended as it was by a very high bank of a river, and enclosed likewise with a rampart and a number of towers, than that they should quit their fortifications, and, marching off with haste, give us an opportunity of attacking their rear in an open plain? These were my reasons for deferring a battle from yesterday to this day. For I am myself as much inclined to fight as any; and for that reason, as the way to come at the enemy over the river Enipeus was stopped, I have opened a new way by dislodging the enemy's guards from another pass. Nor will I rest until the war is ended."

40. When he ceased speaking all remained silent; for some were convinced by his arguments, and the rest were unwilling to find any fault with the proceeding, since any advantage then overlooked could not now be regained. Even on the day, neither the king nor the consul was desirous of engaging; not the king, because he had not the same prospect as the day before, of fighting men who were fatigued after their march, were hurried in forming their line, and not completely marshalled: nor the consul, because, in his new camp, no collection was yet made of wood or forage, to bring which from the adjacent country a great number of his men had been sent from the camp. But, though it was not the wish of either of the commanders, fortune, whose power is not to be controlled by human schemes, brought about a battle. Somewhat nearer to the Macedonian than the Roman camp was a river, not very large, from which both parties supplied themselves with water; and that this might be done with safety, guards were stationed on each bank. On the Roman side were two cohorts, a Marrucian and a Pelignian, with two troops of Samnite horse, commanded by a lieutenant-general, Marcus Sergius Silus; and in the front of the camp there was posted another guard, under Caius Cluvius, lieutenant-general, composed of three cohorts, a Firmian, a Vestinian, and a Cremonian; besides two troops of horse, a Placentine and an Æsetnian. While all was quiet at the river, neither party disturbing the other, about the fourth

hour, a horse, breaking loose from those who had the care of him, ran off towards the farther bank, and three Roman soldiers followed him through the water, which reached as high as their knees. At the same time two Thracians endeavoured to bring the horse from the middle of the channel to their own bank; but the Romans slew one of them, and, having recovered the animal, retired to their post. On the enemy's bank there was a body of eight hundred Thracians, of whom a few, at first enraged at their countryman being killed before their eyes, crossed the river in pursuit of his slayers; in a little time some more, and at last all of them [passed over, and attacked the Roman guard on the other side. Re-enforcements hastened to both parties, and the affair soon became so serious, that the commanders were obliged to risk a general engagement. In the army of the Macedonians there were two phalanxes; the men of one were called Leucaspides, those of the other Aglaspides, or Chalcaspides; there was also a body of targetiers, formed in the same manner, and carrying the same kind of long spears, but lighter armed in other respects. These three bodies withstood, for a long time, every effort of the Romans; the targetiers even compelled the Pelignian battalions to retire, which alarmed and provoked Æmilius to such a degree that he tore his robe. At length, observing that the compact order of the phalanx was not everywhere unbroken, the variation of the ground and of their motions necessarily causing some intervals in their ranks, he ordered his men to watch attentively, and, wherever they could discern the least opening in the phalanx, to force themselves in with all their might, and strive to divide as much as possible. As soon as he had issued this order, he put himself at the head of one of the legions], and led it on to battle.

41. The troops were deeply impressed with sentiments of respect, when they considered the high dignity of his office, his own personal renown, and, above all, his age: for, though more than sixty years old, he discharged every obligation of youth, taking on himself the principal share both of the labour and danger. His legion filled up the space between the targetiers and another phalanx, and thus disunited the enemy's line. Behind him were the targetiers, and his front faced the shielded phalanx of Aglaspides. Lucius Albinus, a man of consular rank, was ordered to lead on the second legion against

the phalanx of the Leucaspidæ, which formed the centre of the Macedonian line. On the right wing, where the fight began, at the river, the elephants were brought forward, with a cohort of allied cavalry; and these latter were the first who made any of the Macedonians turn their backs: for as new contrivances make an important figure in words, but on being put in practice oftentimes prove vain and ineffectual, so on that occasion the elephants in the line of battle were a mere name, without the least use. Their attack was followed by the Latine allies, who forced the enemy's left wing to give way. In the centre the second legion dispersed the phalanx, nor was there any more evident cause of the victory that followed, than there being many distinct fights, which first disordered that body, by throwing it into irregular motions, and at last quite broke it: for, while it preserves its compact order, and presents a front bristled with extended spears, its strength is irresistible; but if, by separate attacks on various parts of it, the men are once forced to turn about their spears, which, on account of their length and weight, are too unwieldy to be easily moved, they are embarrassed; and, if they are alarmed by any assault on the flank or rear, fall into irretrievable disorder. This was the case now, when they were obliged to oppose the Romans, who, in small parties, and with their line broken into numerous divisions, assailed them in many places at once; and, when any opening was made, worked themselves into the vacant spaces. But had they advanced with their entire line straight against the phalanx, when in its regular order, the fate of the Pelignians would have been theirs, who, in the beginning of the battle, incautiously engaged the targetiers; being run through by the spears, and unable to withstand such a firm body.

42. But though the Macedonian infantry were cut to pieces on all sides, except those who throw away their arms and fled, the cavalry quitted the field with scarcely any loss. The king himself was the first in flight. With the sacred squadrons of horse he took the road to Pella, and was quickly followed by Cotys and the Odrysian cavalry. The rest of the cavalry, likewise, went off with full ranks: because, as the line of infantry stood in the way, the enemy remained to put them to the sword, and did not think of pursuing the others. For a long time the men of the phalanx were cut off, in front, on the flanks, and on the rear; at last, such as could avoid the ene-

my's hands fled unarmed towards the sea; some even ran into the water, and, stretching out their hands to those on board the fleet, humbly begged their lives. Boats coming from all the ships, it was supposed that it was meant to take them in; whereon, advancing farther into the water, so that some of them even swam, they supplicated aid. But they soon found themselves treated as enemies by the boats; on which, such as were able regained the land, where they met their death in a more dreadful way; for the elephants, which their riders had driven down to the shore, trod them under foot, and crushed them in pieces. It was generally acknowledged that the Macedonians never lost so great a number of men in any battle; for their killed amounted to twenty thousand; six thousand, who made their escape from the field to Pydna, fell alive into the hands of the Romans, and five thousand were taken straggling through the country. Of the victorious army there fell not more than one hundred, the greater part of whom were Pelignians; but a much greater number were wounded. If the battle had been begun earlier, so that the conquerors might have had daylight enough for a pursuit, all the troops of the vanquished must have been utterly destroyed. As it happened, the approach of night both screened the fugitives, and made the Romans unwilling to follow them through an unknown country.

43. Perseus, in his flight as far as the Pierian wood, kept up a military appearance, being attended by a numerous body of horse, together with his royal retinue; but when he came into the thicket, and when darkness came on, he turned out of the main path with a very few, in whom he placed the greatest confidence. The horsemen, abandoned by their leader, dispersed, and returned to their respective homes; some of whom made their way to Pella quicker than Perseus himself, because they went by the straight and open road. The king, embarrassed by his fears, and the many difficulties which he met with on the way, did not arrive till near midnight. He was met at the palace by Euctus, governor of Pella, and the royal pages; but of all his friends who had escaped from the battle by various chances, not one would come near him, though they were repeatedly sent for. Only three persons accompanied him in his flight: Evander, a Cretan; Neon, a Bæotian; and Archidamus, an Ætolian. With these he continued his retreat at the fourth watch; for

he began to fear lest those who had refused to obey his summons might presently attempt something more audacious. He had an escort of about five hundred Cretans. He took the road to Amphipolis, leaving Pella in the night, and hastening to get over the river Axius before day, as he thought that the difficulty in passing it would deter the Romans from farther pursuit.

44. The consul returned victorious to his camp, but his joy was much allayed by concern for his younger son. This was Publius Scipio, who afterward acquired the title of Africanus, by the destruction of Carthage : he was, by birth, the son of the Consul Paulus ; and, by adoption, the grandson of the elder Africanus. He was then only in the seventeenth year of his age, which circumstance heightened his father's anxiety : for, pursuing the enemy with eagerness, he had been carried away by the crowd to a distant part. He returned late in the evening, however ; and then the consul, having received him in safety, felt unmixed joy for the very important victory. When the news of the battle reached Amphipolis, the matrons ran together to the temple of Diana, whom they style Tauropolos, to implore her aid. Diodorus, who was governor of the city, fearing lest the Thracians, of whom there were two thousand in garrison, might, during the confusion, plunder the city, contrived to receive, in the middle of the forum, a letter from the hands of a person whom he had employed for the purpose, and instructed to personate a courier. The contents of it were, that "the Romans had put in their fleet at Emathia, and were ravaging the territory round ; and that the governors of Emathia besought him to send a re-enforcement, which might enable them to repel the ravagers." After reading this he desired the Thracians to march to the relief of the coast ; telling them, as an encouragement, that the Romans being dispersed through the country, they might easily kill many of them, and gain a large booty. He affected not to believe the report of the defeat ; alleging that, if it were true, many would have come from the place of action. Having, on this pretence, sent the Thracians out of the town, he no sooner saw them pass the river Strymon than he shut the gates.

45. On the third day after the battle Perseus arrived at Amphipolis, and sent thence to Paulus suppliant ambassadors, with the wand of peace. In the meantime Hippias, Milo,

and Pantauchus, whom the king esteemed his best friends, went themselves to the consul, and surrendered to the Romans the city of Bercæ, to which they had fled after the battle; and several other cities, struck with fear, prepared to follow the example. The consul despatched to Rome, with letters and the news of his victory, his son Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus. He gave to his infantry the spoils of the enemy who were slain, and to his cavalry the plunder of the circumjacent country, provided, however, that they did not stay out of the camp longer than two nights. He then removed towards Pydna. Bercæ, Thessalonica, and Pella, and indeed almost every city in Macedonia, successively surrendered within two days. From Pydna, which was the nearest, no deputation had yet been sent; the confused multitude, made up of many different nations, with the numbers who had been obliged to fly thither from the field, put it out of the power of the inhabitants to form or unite in any design; the gates too were not only shut, but closed up with walls. Milo and Pantauchus were sent to confer under the wall with Solon, who commanded in the place. By his means the crowd of military people were sent away, the town was surrendered, and given up to the soldiers to be plundered. Perseus, after making a single effort to procure assistance, by sending an embassy to the Bæsaltians, but without effect, came forth into a general assembly, bringing with him his son Philip, in order to encourage the Amphipolitans themselves, and to raise the spirits of those horse and foot soldiers who had either constantly accompanied him, or had happened to fly to the same place. But, though he made several attempts to speak, he was always stopped by his tears; so that, finding himself unable to proceed, he told Evander, the Cretan, what he wished to have laid before the people, and came down from the tribunal. Although the multitude, on seeing the king in so melancholy a situation, and observing him weep in that affecting manner, had joined their complaints with his, yet they refused to listen to the discourse of Evander; and some, from the middle of the assembly, had the assurance to interrupt him, exclaiming, "Depart to some other place, that the few of us who are left alive may not be destroyed on your account." Their daring opposition stopped Evander's mouth. The king retired to his palace; and, causing his treasures to be put on board some barks which lay in

the Strymon, went down himself to the river. The Thracians would not venture to trust themselves on board, but went off to their own homes, as did the rest of the soldiers; the Cretans only following the money, in hopes of a share: but, as any distribution of it among them would probably raise more discontent than gratitude, fifty talents* were laid on the bank for them to seize as each might be able. After this scramble they went on board; yet in such hurry and disorder, that they sunk one of the barks in the mouth of the river by the weight of the numbers which crowded into it. They arrived that day at Galepsus, and the next at Samothrace, to which they were bound. Thither, it is said, the king carried with him two thousand talents.†

46. Paulus sent officers to hold the government of the several cities which had surrendered, lest, at a time when peace was but newly restored, the conquered might suffer any ill treatment. He detained the ambassadors of Perseus; and, as he had not yet been informed of his flight, detached Publius Nasica, with a small party of horse and foot, to Amphipolis, both that he might lay waste the country of Sintice, and be ready to obstruct every effort of the king. In the meantime Melibœa was taken and sacked by Cneius Octavius. At Æginium, which Cneius Anicius, a lieutenant-general, had been ordered to attack, two hundred men were lost by a sally made from the town; for it was not known that the war was at an end. The consul, quitting Pydna, arrived with his whole army on the second day at Pella; and, pitching his camp at the distance of a mile from it, remained in that station for several days. These he employed in taking a full view of the situation of the city; and he perceived that it was chosen to be the capital of the kingdom not without good reason. It stands on a hill which faces the southwest, and is surrounded by morasses, formed by stagnant waters from the adjacent lakes, so deep as to be impassable either in winter or summer. In the part of the morass nearest to the city the citadel rises up like an island, being built on a mound of earth formed with immense labour, so as to be capable of supporting the wall, and secure against any injury from the surrounding moisture. At a distance it seems to join the city rampart, but is divided from it by a river, and which has a

* 9687*l.* 10*s.*

† 387,490*l.*

bridge over it; so that, if the king chooses to confine any person within it, there is no way for an escape except by that bridge, which can be guarded with great ease. This was the depository of the royal treasure; but at that time there was nothing found there but the three hundred talents which had been sent to King Gentius, and afterward brought back. While the consul halted at Pella, he gave audience to a great number of embassies, which came with congratulations, especially out of Thessaly. Then, receiving intelligence that Perseus had passed over to Samothrace, he left Pella, and, after four days' march, arrived at Amphipolis. Here the whole multitude poured out of the town to meet him; a plain demonstration that the people considered themselves not as [bereft of a good and just king, but as delivered from a haughty, overbearing tyrant. The consul, after a short delay, proceeded in pursuit of Perseus into the province of Odomantice, and encamped at Siræ.]

BOOK XLV.

CHAP. 1. Notwithstanding that Quintus Fabius, Lucius Lentulus, and Quintus Metellus, who were sent with the news of the victory, made all possible haste to Rome, yet they found rejoicings for that event anticipated there. The fourth day after the discomfiture of Perseus, and while games were exhibiting in the circus, a faint rumour spread itself suddenly among the people through all the seats, "that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and that the king was entirely defeated." The rumour gathered strength, until at last they shouted and clapped their hands, as if the same had been confirmed to them. The magistrates, being surprised, caused inquiry to be made for the author of the account which occasioned this sudden rejoicing; but none being found, the joy of course vanished. Although the matter was uncertain, yet the flattering belief still remained impressed on their minds; and when, on the arrival of Fabius, Lentulus, and Metellus, the fact was established by authentic information, they rejoiced on a twofold account,—on that of the victory, and their

happy presage of it. This exultation in the circus is related in another manner, with equal appearance of probability: that, on the tenth day before the calends of October, being the second day of the Roman games, as the Consul Licinius was going down to give the signal for the race, a courier, who said he came from Macedonia, delivered to him a letter decorated with laurel. As soon as he had started the chariots, he mounted his own, and, as he rode back to the seats of the magistrates, showed to the people the embellished tablets, at the sight of which the multitude, regardless of the games, ran down at once into the middle of the area. The consul held a meeting of the senate on the spot; and, after reading the letter to them by their direction, he told the people, from the seats of the magistrates, that "his colleague Lucius Æmilius had fought a general engagement with Perseus; that the Macedonian army was totally defeated; that the king had fled with few attendants; and that all the cities of Macedonia had submitted to the Romans." On hearing this, they testified their joy by a universal shouting and clapping of hands; and most of them, leaving the sport, hastened home to communicate the joyful tidings to their wives and children. This was the thirteenth day after the battle.

2. On the following day the senate voted a general supplication, and ordered that the consul should disband all his troops, excepting the regulars and seamen; and that the disbandment should be taken into consideration as soon as the deputies from the Consul Æmilius, who had sent forward the courier, should arrive in town. On the sixth day before the calends of October, about the second hour, the deputies came into the city, and proceeded directly to the tribunal in the forum, drawing an immense crowd, who went forth to meet and escort them. The senate happened to be then sitting, and the consul introduced the deputies to them. They were detained there no longer than to give an account "how very numerous the king's forces of horse and foot had been; how many thousands of them were killed, how many taken; with what a small loss of men the Romans had made such havoc of the enemy, and with how poor an attendance Perseus had fled; that it was supposed he would go to Samothrace, and that the fleet was ready to pursue him; so that he could not escape either by sea or land." They were then brought out into the assembly of the people, where they repeated the

same particulars, and renewed the general joy in such a degree, that no sooner had the consul published an order that all the places of worship should be opened, and that they should proceed directly to return thanks to the immortal gods, than every temple in the city was filled with vast crowds, not only of men, but of women. The senate, being reassembled, ordered thanksgivings in all the temples, during five days, for the glorious successes obtained by the Consul Lucius Æmilius, with sacrifices of the larger kinds of victims. They also voted that the ships which lay in the Tiber fit for sea, and ready to sail for Macedonia, in case the king had been able to maintain the dispute, should be hauled up and placed in the docks, and the seamen belonging to them paid a year's wages and discharged; and, together with these, all who had taken the military oath to the consul; that all the soldiers in Corcyra and Brundisium, on the coast of the upper sea, and in the territory of Larinum, should be disbanded: for in all these places had troops been cantoned, in order that the Consul Licinius might, if occasion required, take them over to re-enforce his colleague. The thanksgiving was fixed, by proclamation in the assembly, for the fifth day before the ides of October.

3. Two deputies, Caius Licinius Nerva and Publius Decius, likewise arrived at this time, who brought intelligence that the army of the Illyrians was defeated, their king Gentius taken prisoner, and all Illyria reduced under the dominion of the Roman people. On account of these services, under the conduct and auspices of the Pretor Lucius Anicius, the senate voted a supplication of three days' continuance, and it was accordingly appointed, by proclamation, to be performed on the fourth, third, and second days of the ides of November. Some writers tell us that the Rhodian ambassadors had not yet been admitted to an audience; and that, when the news of the victory was received, they were called before the senate, in order to expose their absurdity and arrogance. On this occasion, Agesipolis, their principal, spoke to this effect: that "they had been sent by the Rhodians with a commission to effect an accommodation between the Romans and Perseus; the war then subsisting being injurious and burdensome to all Greece, and expensive and detrimental to the Romans themselves; but that the kindness of fortune, terminating the war after another manner, had

afforded them an opportunity of congratulating the Romans on a glorious victory." To this discourse of the Rhodians, the senate returned the following answer: that "the Rhodians, in sending that embassy, had not been actuated by concern either for the interests of Greece or for the expenses of the Roman people, but merely by their wishes to serve Perseus: for, if their concern had been such as they pretended, the time for sending ambassadors would have been when that monarch, leading an army into Thessaly, had continued for two years to besiege some of the cities of Greece, and to terrify others with denunciations of vengeance. All this time not the least mention of peace was made by the Rhodians; but when they heard that the Romans had passed the defiles, and penetrated into Macedonia, and that Perseus was held enclosed by them, then they sent an embassy, from no other motive whatever but a wish to rescue Perseus from impending danger." With this answer the ambassadors were dismissed.

4. About the same time Marcus Marcellus, coming home from Spain, where he had taken Marcobica, a city of note, brought into the treasury ten pounds' weight of gold, and a quantity of silver, amounting to a million of sesterces.* While the Consul Paulus Æmilius lay encamped at Siris, in Odontantice, as mentioned above, a letter from King Perseus was brought to him by three ambassadors of mean appearance, the sight of whom, as we are told, excited in his mind such reflections on the instability of human affairs as caused him to shed tears; that a prince who, a short time before, not content with the kingdom of Macedonia, had invaded Dardania and Illyria, and had called out to his aid the whole Bastarnian nation, should now, after having lost his army, be expelled his kingdom, and forced to take refuge in a little island, where, as a suppliant, he was protected by the sanctity of the place, not by any strength of his own, occasioned him something like pain: but when he read the address, "King Perseus to the Consul Paulus, greeting," the seeming insensibility of his condition did away all compassion; so that, notwithstanding the letter consisted of entreaties couched in terms ill suited to royalty, yet the embassy was dismissed without any answer. Perseus, perceiving that it was expected

* 80721. 18s. 4d.

he should in his vanquished state forget his pompous titles, sent another letter, inscribed simply with his name, in which he made a request, which was readily complied with, that some persons should be sent to him with whom he might confer on the present condition of his affairs. Three ambassadors were accordingly despatched, Publius Lentulus, Aulus Postumius Albinus, and Aulus Antonius ; but their embassy effected nothing ; for Perseus struggled with all his might to retain the regal title, while Paulus insisted on an absolute submission of himself and every thing belonging to him to the honour and clemency of the Roman people.

5. In the meantime Cneius Octavius, with his fleet, port in at Samothrace ; and presenting immediate danger to Perseus's view, he endeavoured at one time by menaces, at another by hopes, to prevail on him to surrender. In this design he was greatly assisted by an occurrence, which it is uncertain whether it were accidental or designed. Lucius Atilius, a young man of good character, observing that the people of Samothrace were met in a general assembly, asked permission of the magistrate to address a few words to them ; which being granted, he said,—“ People of Samothrace, our good hosts ; is the account which we have heard true or false, that this island is sacred, and the country holy and inviolable ?” They all agreed in asserting the supposed sanctity of the place ; whereon he proceeded thus : “ Why, then, has a murderer, stained with the blood of King Eumenes, presumed to profane it ? And though, previous to every sacrifice, a proclamation forbids all who have not pure hands to assist at the sacred rites, will you nevertheless suffer your holy places to be polluted by the approach of an assassin ?” The story of King Eumenes having been nearly murdered by Evander at Delphi was now well known through all the cities of Greece. The Samothracians, therefore, besides the consideration of their being themselves, as well as the temple and the whole island, in the power of the Romans, were convinced that the censure thrown on them was not understood ; they therefore sent Theondas, their chief magistrate, whom they style king, to Perseus, to acquaint him that “ Evander the Cretan was accused of murder ; that they had a mode of trial established among them by the practice of their ancestors, concerning such as were charged with bringing impure hands into the consecrated precincts of the temple. If

Evander was confident that he was innocent of the capital charge made against him, let him come forth and stand a trial; but, if he would not venture to undergo an inquiry, let him free the temple from profanation, and take care of himself as well as he could." Persens, calling out Evander, told him that he would by no means advise him to stand a trial, because he was no match for his accusers, either in the merits of the cause or in influence. He had secret apprehensions that Evander, on being condemned, would expose him as the instigator of that abominable act. What then remained, he said, but to die bravely? Evander made openly no objection; but, telling the king that he chose to die by poison rather than by the sword, took measures in secret for effecting his escape. When this was told the king, he was alarmed lest the anger of the Samothracians should be turned against himself, as accessory to the escape of a guilty person, and he ordered Evander to be put to death. No sooner was this rash murder perpetrated, than his mind was immediately stung with remorse. He considered that "he had now drawn on himself the whole of the guilt, which before had effected Evander only; that the latter had wounded Eumenes at Delphi, and he had slain Evander in Samothrace; and thus the two most venerable sanctuaries in the world had, through his means alone, been defiled with human blood." He contrived, however, to avoid the imputation of this deed, by bribing Theondas to tell the people that Evander had laid violent hands on himself.

6. But such an atrocious act, committed on his only remaining friend, on one whose fidelity he had experienced on so many trying occasions, and who, in return for not proving a traitor, was himself betrayed, disgusted every one. A general defection and going over to the Romans ensued, so that he was left almost alone, and obliged in that condition to meditate the means of escaping. He applied to a Cretan called Oroandes, who was acquainted with the coast of Thrace, having carried on traffic in that country, to take him on board his vessel and convey him to Cotys. At one of the promontories of Samothrace is a harbour called Demetrium; there the vessel lay. About sunset every thing necessary for the voyage was carried thither, together with as much money as could be transported with secrecy; and at midnight the king himself, with three persons who were privy

to his flight, going out through a back door into a garden, near his chamber, and having with much difficulty climbed over the wall, went down to the shore. Oroandes had set sail at the first dusk, as soon as the money arrived, and was now steering for Crete. Perseus, not finding the ship in the harbour, wandered about for a long time on the coast; but at last, fearing the approach of day, and not daring to return to his lodging, he hid himself in a dark corner at one side of the temple. Among the Macedonians there was a band of boys of the highest birth, chosen out to wait on the king, and called the royal pages: this band had accompanied Perseus in his flight, and did not even now desert him, until Cneius Octavius ordered a herald to proclaim, that "if the royal pages and other Macedonians then in Samothrace would come over to the Romans, they should have impunity, liberty, and all their property, both what they had in the island and what they had left in Macedonia." On this notice they came over, and made a formal surrender before Caius Postumius, a military tribune. The king's younger children also were delivered up to Cneius Octavius, by Io of Thessalonica; nor was any one now left with Perseus except Philip, his eldest son. Then, after uttering many execrations against fortune, and the gods to whom the temple belonged, for not affording aid to a suppliant, he surrendered himself and his son to Octavius. He was put on board the pretor's ship, and with him all his remaining money; and the fleet immediately returned to Amphipolis. From thence Octavius sent the king into the camp to the consul, having previously informed him by letter that he was a prisoner, and on the road thither.

7. Paulus, justly considering this as a second victory, offered sacrifices on the occasion; then calling a council, and reading to them the pretor's letter, he sent Quintus Ælius Tubero to meet and escort the king; the rest he desired to remain assembled in the pretorium. Never, on any other occasion, did so great a multitude gather about a spectacle. In the time of their fathers, King Syphax had been made prisoner, and brought into the Roman camp; but, besides that he could not be compared with Perseus, either in respect of his own reputation or that of his country, he was at the time a subordinate party in the Carthaginian war, as Gentius was in the Macedonian; whereas Perseus was the principal in this war, and was not only highly conspicuous

through his own personal renown, and that of his father, grandfather, and other relations in blood and extraction, but of these, two shone with unparalleled lustre,—Philip, and Alexander the Great, who acquired to the Macedonians sovereign dominion over the whole world. Perseus came into the camp, dressed in mourning, unattended by any of his countrymen, except his own son, whose being a sharer in the calamity added to the wretchedness of his situation. The crowd, which had collected to get a sight of him, prevented his advancing, until the consul sent his lictors, who cleared the way and opened a passage to the pretorium. At his coming the consul arose, but ordered the rest to keep their seats, and advancing a little, held out his right hand to the king at the entrance : when Perseus offered to fall at his feet, he held him up, nor would he suffer him to embrace his knees, but led him into the tent, and desired him to sit on the side opposite to the officers assembled in council.

8. He began by asking “what injuries had obliged him to enter into a war against the Roman people with such violent animosity, and to bring himself and his kingdom to the extremity of danger ?” While all expected his answer, he kept his eyes fixed on the ground, and wept a long time in silence. The consul, again addressing him, said, “If you had acceded to the government in early youth, I should have less wondered at your not being sensible of the great importance of the friendship or enmity of the Roman people. But that was not the case, as you bore a part in the war which your father waged with us ; and, afterward, must have remembered the peace which we maintained towards him with the strictest sincerity. What motive, then, could induce you to prefer war to peace, with those whose power in war, and whose good faith in peace, you had so fully experienced ?” Neither questions nor reproaches could draw an answer from him : on which the consul added, “Whatever causes may have produced these events, whether mistakes incident to humanity, or accident, or necessity, suffer not your spirits to be dejected. The clemency of the Roman people, displayed in numerous instances towards kings and nations in distress, affords you not only hope, but almost perfect confidence of safety.” This he said in the Greek language to Perseus ; and then, turning to his own people, he said in the Latine tongue, “Do you not observe this striking instance of the

instability of human affairs? To you, young men, principally, I address the observation. In the hour of prosperity, therefore, we ought to harbour neither sentiments of arrogance nor of rancour, nor to confide implicitly in present advantages, since we know not what the evening may produce. He alone will deserve the character of a man who suffers not his spirit to be elated by the favourable gales of fortune, nor to be broken by its adverse blasts." He then dismissed the council, and gave the charge of guarding the king to Quintus Ælius. Perseus was invited to dine that day with the consul, and received every mark of respect which his present circumstances would admit.

9. The troops were immediately sent off to their winter cantonments; the greater part were quartered in Amphipolis, and the rest in the towns in that neighbourhood. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had lasted, without intermission, four years; and thus ended a kingdom long renowned through a great part of Europe, and throughout all Asia. From Caranus, their first king, they reckoned Perseus the fortieth. Perseus came to the crown in the consulate of Quintus Fulvius and Lucius Manlius; received the title of king from the senate in that of Marcus Junius and Aulus Manlius, and reigned eleven years. The fame of the Macedonians was but obscure until the reign of Philip, son of Amyntas; and though in his time and by his means it began to increase, yet it was still confined within the limits of Europe, extending only to all Greece, with a part of Thrace and Illyria. Afterward, the force of Macedon poured down like a deluge on Asia; and it was in the course of the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander that they reduced under their dominion that almost immense tract which had constituted the empire of the Persians, and then overspread the Arabias and India, as far as where the Red Sea forms the utmost boundary of the earth. At that time their empire was the greatest in the world; but, on the death of Alexander, it was torn asunder into a number of kingdoms, each of his successors struggling to grasp power to himself, and thereby dismembering the whole. From the time of its highest elevation to this its final downfall, it stood one hundred and fifty years.

10. When the news of the victory obtained by the Romans was carried into Asia, Antenor, who lay with a fleet of small

vessels at Phana, sailed over to Cassandrea. Caius Popilius, who stayed at Delos to protect the ships bound to Macedonia, learning that the war there was at an end, and that the enemy's fleet had left its station, sent home the Athenian squadron, and proceeded on his voyage for Egypt, to finish the business of the embassy with which he was charged, for he wished to meet Antiochus before he should approach the walls of Alexandria. When the ambassadors, sailing along the coast of Asia, arrived at Loryma, a port somewhat more than twenty miles from Rhodes, and just opposite to that city, they were met by some of the principal Rhodians—(for the news of the victory had by this time reached them too), who besought them to sail over to their city; for that it was of the utmost consequence to the character and well-being of the Roman state that they should, in person, inform themselves of what had been done, and what was then passing at Rhodes; so as to carry home intelligence founded on their own knowledge, and not on vague reports. After refusing for a long time, they were at length prevailed on to submit to a short delay of their voyage, for the sake of the safety of an allied city. When they came to Rhodes, the same persons, by urgent entreaties, persuaded them to be present at a general assembly. The arrival of the ambassadors rather heightened than allayed the fears of the public: for Popilius enumerated all the hostile expressions and actions, both of the community and of individuals during the war; and being naturally of an austere temper, he magnified the atrociousness of the matters which he mentioned, by the sternness of his countenance, and the harshness of his tone of voice; so that, as he had no cause of personal quarrel with their state, people judged from the austerity of one Roman senator what was the disposition of the whole senate towards them. Caius Decimius spoke with more moderation; and respecting most of the particulars mentioned by Popilius, he asserted that "the blame lay, not on the nation, but on a few incendiary ringleaders of the populace, who, employing their tongues for hire, procured the passing of several decrees full of flattery towards the king; and had sent several embassies, which always excited in the minds of the Rhodians both shame and sorrow; all which proceedings, however, if the people were disposed to act properly, would fall on the heads of the guilty." His discourse gave great satisfaction; not only because

it extenuated the offences of the community, but because it threw the whole blame on the authors of their misconduct. When, therefore, their own magistrates spoke in answer to the Romans, the people were not so well pleased with those who endeavoured to exculpate them, in some measure, from the charges advanced by Popilius, as with those who advised to concur with the opinion of Decimius, and expiate their fault by the punishment of the chief offenders. A decree was therefore immediately passed, that all who should be convicted of having, in any instance, spoken or acted in favour of Perseus, against the Romans, should be condemned to die. Several of those concerned had left the city on the arrival of the Romans: others put an end to their own lives. The ambassadors stayed only five days at Rhodes, and then proceeded to Alexandria; but the trials instituted, pursuant to the decree passed in their presence, were still carried on at Rhodes with the same activity: and this perseverance of the Rhodians, in the execution of that business, was entirely owing to the mild behaviour of Decimius.

11. In the meantime Antiochus, after a fruitless attempt against the walls of Alexandria, had retired; and being now master of all the rest of Egypt, he left at Memphis the elder Ptolemy, whose settlement on the throne was the pretended object of his armament, though in reality he meant to attack him as soon as he should have vanquished his competitors; and then he led back his army into Syria. Ptolemy, who was not unapprized of this his intention, conceived hopes that, while he held his younger brother under terror and in dread of a siege, he might be able to manage matters so as to procure admittance into Alexandria, provided his sister favoured the design, and his brother's friends did not oppose it. Accordingly, he never ceased sending proposals to all these until he effected an accommodation with them. His suspicions of Antiochus were corroborated by this circumstance, that, when he gave him possession of the rest of Egypt, he left a strong garrison in Pelusium: a plain proof that he kept that key of Egypt in his hands, in order that he might be able, whenever he pleased, to introduce an army again into the country; and he foresaw that the final issue of a civil war with his brother must be, that the conqueror, thoroughly weakened by the contest, would be utterly unable to contend with Antiochus. In these prudent observations of the elder

brother, the younger and those about him concurred, while their sister greatly promoted the negotiation both by her advice and entreaties.* A friendly intercourse therefore took place, to the satisfaction of all the parties, and the elder Ptolemy was received into Alexandria. Nor was this unpleasant even to the populace, who, during the war, had been severely distressed by a general scarcity, not only in consequence of the siege, but after the enemy had retired, by all communication with every part of Egypt being shut up. Although it was reasonable to suppose that Antiochus would be rejoiced at these events, if he had really marched his army into Egypt for the purpose of reinstating Ptolemy on the throne—the plausible pretext which he had professed to all the states of Asia and Greece, in his answers to their embassies and in the letters that he wrote), yet he was so highly offended that he prepared to make war on the two brothers, with much greater acrimony and fury of resentment than he had shown against the one. He instantly sent his fleet to Cyprus; and, as soon as the spring appeared, putting himself at the head of his army, he directed his route towards Egypt, and advanced into Coele Syria. Near Rhinocolura he was met by ambassadors from Ptolemy, who gave him thanks for the assistance, by means of which he had recovered the throne of his ancestors; and he requested him to secure to him the enjoyment of the benefit which he had himself conferred; and rather to signify what he wished to be done, than from an ally to become an enemy, and proceed by force of arms. To this he answered, that “he would neither recall his fleet nor stop the march of his army, on any other condition than that all Cyprus and the city of Pelusium, together with the lands adjoining the Pelusian mouth of the Nile, should be ceded to him;” and he even named a particular day, on or before which he expected to receive an answer that these terms were complied with.

12. When the time fixed for the suspension of hostilities was elapsed, [Antiochus ordered the commanders of his fleet] to sail up the mouth of the Nile to Pelusium, while [he himself entered Egypt] through the deserts of Arabia. [He was amicably received by the people] about Memphis, as he was afterward by the rest of the Egyptians; some being led by inclination, others by fear; and he proceeded thus, by short marches, down to Alexandria. He had just crossed the river

at Eleusine, four miles from that city, when he was met by the Roman ambassadors. At their coming he saluted them, and held out his right hand to Popilius; but Popilius, putting into his hand a written tablet, desired him first to peruse that. On reading it, he said that he would call his friends together, and consult what was to be done; on which Popilius, with that roughness which generally marked his character, drew a line round the king, with a wand which he held in his hand, and said, "Before you go out of that circle give such an answer as I may report to the senate." Astonished at such a peremptory injunction, the king hesitated for some time, but at last replied, "I will do as the senate directs." Popilius then thought proper to stretch out his right hand to him as to a friend and ally. Antiochus having retired out of Egypt on a day prefixed, the ambassadors employed their influence in establishing concord among the royal family on a more firm basis than it had yet acquired; and then sailed to Cyprus, from whence they sent home the ships of Antiochus, and which had fought and defeated an Egyptian fleet. This embassy attracted a great share of respect from all nations, having manifestly rescued Egypt out of the hands of the Syrian, when he had it within his grasp, and restored to the race of Ptolemy the kingdom of their forefathers. While one of the consuls of this year distinguished his administration by a glorious victory, the other acquired no new lustre to his reputation, no object presenting itself to call forth his abilities. When, in the beginning of his administration, he had appointed his troops to assemble, he entered the consecrated place without due auspices; and the augurs, on the matter being laid before them, pronounced the appointment improper. Going into Gaul, he lay encamped near the long plains, at the foot of the mountains Sicimina and Papirus, passing the winter in the same country with the troops of the Latine allies. The Roman legions stayed all the while in the city, because their assembling had been irregularly ordered. The pretors went to their several provinces, except Caius Papirius Carbo, to whose lot Sardinia had fallen; the senate having commanded him to administer justice at Rome between natives and foreigners, a duty to which he had been already named.

13. When Popilius, with his colleagues in the embassy to Antiochus, returned to Rome, he gave information that all

disputes between the kings were done away, and that the army had marched out of Egypt into Syria. Soon after arrived ambassadors from the kings themselves. Those of Antiochus represented that "their king had considered a peace, which was agreeable to the senate, as preferable to a victory, how complete soever; and had accordingly obeyed the order of the Roman ambassadors as implicitly as if it had been a mandate of the gods." They then offered his congratulations on their victory, "to which," they said, "the king would have contributed with his utmost power, if he had received any orders to act." The ambassadors of Ptolemy, in the joint names of that prince and Cleopatra, presented their thanks, acknowledging that "they were more indebted to the senate and people of Rome than to their own parents, more than to the immortal gods; since, through their intervention, they had been relieved from a most distressing siege, and had recovered the kingdom of their fathers when it was almost entirely lost." The senate observed of Antiochus "that he had acted rightly and properly in complying with the demand of their ambassadors; and that his conduct was pleasing to the senate and people of Rome." To Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, they answered, that "the senate rejoiced very much at having been in any degree instrumental to their benefit and advantage; and would take care that they should always have reason to account the good faith of the Roman people the strongest support of their kingdom." Caius Papirius, the pretor, was commissioned to send the usual presents to the ambassadors. A letter now arrived from Macedonia, which greatly added to the public joy, as it brought information that "King Perseus was in the hands of the consul." After the ambassadors were dismissed the senate gave hearing to a controversy between deputies from Pisa and others from Luna; the former complaining that they were dispossessed of their lands by the Roman colonists; while the latter insisted that the lands in question had been marked out to them by the triumvirs. The senate sent five commissioners to examine and fix the boundaries: Quintus Fabius Buteo, Publius Cornelius Blasio, Tiberius Sempronius Musca, Lucius Nævius Balbus, and Caius Apuleius Saturninus. A joint embassy from the three brothers, Eumenes, Attalus, and Athenæus, came with congratulations on the victory; and Masgaba, son of King Masinissa, having

landed at Puteoli, Lucius Manlius, the questor, was immediately despatched to meet and conduct him to Rome at the public expense. As soon as he arrived the senate was assembled to give him audience. This young prince enhanced the value of services, in themselves meritorious, by the engaging manner in which he mentioned them. He recounted what numbers of foot and horse, how many elephants, and what quantities of corn, his father had sent into Macedonia, in aid of the Romans, during the last four years. "But there were two things," he said, "that made him blush; one, the senate having sent, by their ambassadors, a request, instead of an order, to furnish necessaries for their army; the other, their having sent money in payment for the corn. Masinissa well remembered that the kingdom which he held had been acquired, and very greatly augmented, by the Roman people; and, contenting himself with the management of it, acknowledged the right and sovereignty to be vested in those who granted it to him. It became them, therefore, to take whatever grew in the country, and not to ask from him, nor to purchase, any of the produce of lands made over by themselves. Whatever remained, after supplying the Roman people, Masinissa thought fully sufficient for himself. These were the declarations," he said, "of his father, at parting; but he was afterward overtaken by some horsemen, who brought him an account of Macedonia being conquered, with directions to congratulate the senate on that event. He had also orders to acquaint them that Masinissa was so overjoyed at it, that he wished to come to Rome, and, in the capitol, to offer thanks to Jupiter supremely good and great. He requested, therefore, that if it were not disagreeable, the senate would give him permission so to do."

14. Masgaba was answered, that "the conduct of his father, Masinissa, was such as became a prince of a benevolent and grateful disposition; while his manner of acknowledging the kindness of his friends added value and dignity to it. The Roman people had been faithfully and bravely assisted by him in the Carthaginian war; by the favour of the Roman people he had obtained his kingdom; and he had afterward, in the successive wars with the three kings, discharged, with his usual spirit, every duty. That it was no matter of surprise to them that their successes should give joy to a king who had so intimately blended his own interests and those of his

kingdom with the interests of the Romans. That they wished him to return thanks for the same in the temples of his own country, and which his son might do in his stead at Rome, as he had already said enough, in the way of congratulation, both in his own name and in his father's. But that the senate were of opinion, that by leaving his own kingdom, and going out of Africa, it might, besides being inconvenient to himself, prove detrimental to the Roman people." On Masgaba making a request that Hanno, son of Hamilcar, [might be brought to Rome as a] hostage in the place [of some other, the senate replied that they could not reasonably require hostages from the Carthaginians at the choice of any other person.] The questor was ordered, by a vote of the senate, to purchase presents for the young prince to the value of one hundred pounds' weight of silver; to accompany him to Puteoli; to defray all his expenses while he stayed in Italy; and to hire two ships to carry him and his retinue to Africa; every one of his attendants, both freemen and slaves, receiving gifts of clothes. Soon after this a letter was brought concerning Masinissa's other son, Misagenes; stating that, after the conquest of Perseus, he was directed by Lucius Paulus to go home, with his horsemen, to Africa; and that, while he was on his voyage in the Adriatic Sea, his fleet was dispersed, and himself, in a bad state of health, driven into Brundisium with only three ships. Lucius Stertinius, the questor, was sent to him, to Brundisium, with presents of the same kind with those given to his brother at Rome; and he was ordered to provide lodgings for the prince and his retinue, and [every thing necessary for his health and convenience.] * * * *

15. * * * *

The sons of freedmen had been enrolled in the four city tribes, excepting such as had a son more than five years old; all these the censors, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, ordered to be surveyed in the tribe wherein they had been surveyed the year before; and such as had a farm or farms in the country, exceeding in value thirty thousand sesterces,* were allowed the privilege of being included in the country tribes. Though this reservation was made in their favour,

* 242l. 4s. 3d.

yet Claudius still insisted that "a censor could not, without an order of the people, take away from any man, and much less from a whole class of men, the right of suffrage: for though he can remove a man from his tribe, which is nothing more than ordering him to change it, yet he cannot, therefore, remove him out of all the thirty-five tribes, which would be to strip him of the rights of a citizen and of liberty; not to fix where he should be surveyed, but to exclude him from the survey." These points were discussed by the censors, who at last came to this compromise: that out of the four city tribes they should openly, in the court of the temple of Liberty, select one by lot, in which they should include all those who had ever been in servitude. The lot fell on the *Æsquiline* tribe; on which *Tiberius Gracchus* published an order, that all sons of freedmen should be surveyed in that tribe. This proceeding gained the censors great honour with the senate, who gave thanks to *Sempronius* for his perseverance in so good a design, and also to *Claudius* for not obstructing it. These censors expelled from the senate, and ordered to sell their horses, greater numbers than their predecessors. They both concurred in removing from their tribes, and disfranchising the same persons, in every instance; nor did one of them remove any mark of disgrace inflicted by the other. They petitioned that, according to custom, the year and half's time allowed for enforcing the repairs of buildings, and for approving the execution of works contracted for, should be prolonged; but *Cneius Tremellius*, a tribune, provoked at not having been chosen into the senate, protested against it. This year *Caius Cicereius* dedicated a temple on the *Alban mount*, five years after he had vowed it; and *Lucius Postumius Albinus* was inaugurated flamen of *Mars*.

16. The consuls *Quintius Ælius* and *Marcus Junius* having proposed the business of distributing the provinces [A. U. C. 585. B. C. 167], the senate decreed that *Spain*, which, during the *Macedonian war*, had been but one province, should be again formed into two; and that the present governors, *Lucius Paulus* and *Lucius Anicius*, should continue in the government of *Macedonia* and *Illyria* until, with the concurrence of commissioners, they should adjust the affairs of those countries disordered by the war, and form a new constitution for both kingdoms. The provinces assigned to the

consuls were Pissæ and Gaul, with two legions to each, containing five thousand two hundred foot and three hundred horse. The lots of the pretors were, of Quintius Cassius, the city jurisdiction; of Manius Juventius Thalna, the foreign; of Tiberius Claudius Nero, Sicily; of Cneius Fulvius, Hither Spain, and of Caius Licinius Nerva, Farther Spain. Sardinia had fallen to Aulus Manlius Torquatus, but he could not proceed thither, being detained by a decree of the senate to preside at trials of capital offences. The senate was then consulted concerning prodigies which were reported; the temple of the tutelar deities, on the Velian hill, had been struck by lightning; and two gates, and a large part of the wall in the town of Minervium. At Anagnia, a shower of earth had fallen; and at Lanuvium, a blazing torch was seen in the sky. Marcus Valerius, a Roman citizen, reported, that at Calatia, on the lands of the public, blood had flowed from his hearth during three days and two nights. On account chiefly of this last, the decemvirs were directed to consult the books; on which they ordered a general supplication for one day, and sacrificed in the forum fifty goats. On account of the other prodigies, there was another supplication, of one day's continuance, with sacrifices of the larger victims, and the city was purified. Then, mindful of the gratitude due to the immortal gods, the senate decreed that, "forasmuch as their enemies were subdued, and Macedonia and Illyria, with their kings Perseus and Gentius, were in the power of the Roman people, therefore, whatever offerings were made in all the temples by Appius Claudius and Marcus Sempronius, consuls, on occasion of the conquest of King Antiochus, offerings of the same value should then be made, under the superintendence of Quintus Cassius and Manius Juvencius, pretors."

17. They then constituted commissioners, with whose advice the generals Lucius Paulus and Lucius Anicius were to regulate the affairs of their provinces; ten for Macedonia, and five for Illyria. Those nominated for Macedonia were Aulus Postumius Luscus, Caius Claudius, both of whom had been censors, Caius Licinius Crassus, who had been colleague to Paulus in the consulship, and then held the province of Gaul, having been continued in command. To these, who were of consular rank, were added Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, Servius Cornelius Sulla, Lucius Junius, Caius Antistius

Labeo, Titus Numisius Tarquiniensis, and Aulus Terentius Varro. The following were nominated for Illyria : Publius Ælius Ligus, a man of consular rank, Caius Cicereius, Cneius Bæbius Tamphilus, who had been pretor the last year, as had Cicereius many years before, Publius Terentius Tusciveicanus, and Publius Manilius. The senate then recommended to the consuls that, as one of them must go into Gaul in the room of Caius Licinius, appointed a commissioner, they should either settle their provinces between themselves or cast lots, as might be agreeable to them. They chose to cast lots ; when Pisæ fell to Marcus Junius, who was ordered to introduce to the senate the embassies that came to Rome, from all quarters, with congratulations before he went to his province ; and Gaul to Quintus Ælius.

18. Although the commissioners were men of such characters as afforded confident hopes that, guided by their counsel, the generals would determine on nothing derogatory either to the clemency or dignity of the Roman people, yet the heads of a plan of settlement were considered in the senate, that the said commissioners might carry out to them a general idea of the whole. First, it was determined, that "the Macedonians and Illyrians should be enfranchised ; in order to demonstrate to all the world that the arms of the Roman people were employed, not in riveting chains, but in breaking them ; and to convince those who already enjoyed freedom, that it would ensure it to them safe and permanent, under the protection of the [Roman people] ; and farther, to make known to such as now were subject to despotic rule, that their princes, under awe of the Roman people, would be, at the present, more just and mild ; and that, should war break out at any time between their kings and the Roman people, the issue would bring victory to the latter, and liberty to themselves. It was also provided, that the farming both of the Macedonian mines, which produced a very large profit, and crown lands, should be abolished ; as business of that kind could not be managed without the intervention of revenue farmers ; and wherever people of that description were employed, either the rights of the public were invaded, or the freedom of the allies destroyed. Nor could the Macedonians themselves conduct such affairs ; for while they afforded the managers opportunities of acquiring prey to themselves, there would never be an end of disputes and seditions. It was

farther determined, that there should be no general council of the nation ; lest the perverseness of the populace might, some time or other, convert into pestilent licentiousness the wholesome liberty granted by the senate ; but that Macedonia should be divided into four districts, each of which should have a council of its own ; and that they should pay to the Roman people half the tribute which they used formerly to pay to their kings." Similar instructions were given respecting Illyria. Other particulars were left to the generals and commissioners ; who, by investigating matters on the spot, would be enabled to form more accurate plans.

19. Among the many embassies from kings, nations, and states, Attalus, brother to Eumenes, attracted the general attention in a very particular manner ; for he was received, by those who had served along with him in the late war, with even greater demonstration of kindness than could have been shown to the monarch himself. He had two reasons for coming, both, apparently, highly honourable ; one to offer congratulations, which was quite proper, in the case of a victory to which himself had contributed ; the other, to complain of disturbances raised by the Gauls, so as to endanger his brother's kingdom. But he had also a private view ; he entertained secret hopes of honours and rewards from the senate, which yet he could scarcely receive, as being more properly the claims of the king. There were some among the Romans who had given him ill counsel ; and the prospects which they opened to him set his ambition at work. They told him that "the general opinion concerning Attalus and Eumenes was, that one was a steady friend to the Romans, and that the other was not a faithful ally either to them or to Perseus. That it was not easy to say, with regard to any requests that he might make, whether the senate would have more pleasure in serving him or in hurting his brother, so entirely were all disposed to gratify the one and to grant nothing to the other." As the event proved, Attalus was one of those who covet all that hope can promise to itself ; and he would have been deluded by these suggestions, had not the prudent admonitions of one friend put a curb on those passions, which were growing wanton through prosperity. He had in his retinue a physician called Stratius, whom Eumenes, not perfectly assured of his brother's fidelity, had sent to Rome, for the purpose of watching over his conduct,

and for giving him faithful advice, if he should perceive his honour wavering. This man, although he had to address ears already prepossessed, and a mind labouring under a strong bias, yet, by arguments judiciously timed, restored every thing to its proper state, even after the case had become almost desperate. He urged that "different kingdoms grew into power by different means. As to that of Eumenes, being lately formed, and unsupported by any long established strength, it was upheld solely by the concord of the brothers; for, while one bore the title and the ornament which distinguishes the head of a sovereign, each of them was considered as a king. As to Attalus, in particular, being the next in years, was there any man who did not hold him as such? and that, not only because his present power was great, but because he must, unquestionably, ascend the throne in a very short time, in consequence of the age and infirmity of Eumenes, who had no legitimate issue;" for he had not, at this time, acknowledged the son who afterward reigned. "To what purpose, then, employ violence to attain what of course must soon be his? Besides, a new storm had fallen on the kingdom, from the insurrection of the Gauls, which the most perfect harmony and union of the brothers would scarce enable them to withstand. But if to a foreign war dissensions were added, nothing but ruin could ensue; nor would his scheme produce any other effects than that of hindering his brother from ending his life on the throne, and himself from ascending it. If both modes of acting were honourable,—either to preserve the kingdom for his relative or to take it from him,—yet the honour that would derive to him from the first-mentioned proceeding, as it arose in brotherly love, would be the greater. The latter, indeed, would be detestable, and bordering nearly on parricide: what room, then, could there be for deliberation? For, whether did he mean to demand a share of the kingdom or to seize the whole? If a share were his object, it must follow that both, by the separation of their strength, would be rendered feeble, and exposed to injuries of every kind: if the whole, would he then require his elder brother,—reduced to a private station, at his time of life, and under such infirmity of body,—either to live in exile, or to end his life? Not to speak of the tragical catastrophes represented on the stage, the fate of Perseus was remarkably striking, who having, by the murder of his brother, opened

himself a way to the seizure of the crown, was obliged, on his knees, to lay down at the feet of a victorious enemy in the temple of Samothrace; as if the gods, present on the spot, had demanded vengeance for his crimes. Those very men," he continued, "who, from no motive of friendship for him, but of enmity to Eumenes, had instigated him to the adoption of such measures, would ultimately bestow praises on him if he maintained his fidelity to his brother."

20. These arguments determined Attalus. On being introduced to the senate, after congratulating them on their success, he made mention of his own services during the war and those of his brother; of the defection of the Gauls, which had lately happened, and which had caused violent commotions; and he entreated that ambassadors might be sent to those people, whose authority would oblige them to desist from hostilities. After delivering these messages respecting the general interest of the state, he requested a grant of *Ænus* and *Maronea* to himself. Having thus disappointed the hopes of those who expected him to arraign his brother's conduct, and solicit a partition of the kingdom, he retired from the senate-house. There have been few instances of any discourse, whether delivered by a private person or a king, being received with such a degree of favour and approbation by all who heard it; and presents and honours of every kind were conferred on him during his stay and at his departure. Of the many embassies which came from Greece and Asia, that of the Rhodians engaged the greatest share of the public attention. At first they appeared in white, that colour being the best adapted to persons charged with a message of a joyful nature; for, had they worn mourning, it might seem to be put on for the misfortunes of *Perseus*. Afterward, on the question being put to the senate by the Consul *Marcus Junius* (the ambassadors standing in the *Comitium*), whether lodging and entertainment should be allowed them, it was voted that no duty of hospitality was due to them. When the consul came out of the senate-house, the Rhodians told him that they were come to congratulate the Romans on their late success, and to clear their state of the charges made against it. They then requested an audience of the senate, to which he returned this answer: that "it was the custom of the Romans both to grant audience in their senate and to perform other acts of kindness and hospitality to their friends and allies; but that the conduct of the Rhodians in

the late war had not entitled them to be ranked in the number of friends or allies." On hearing this, they all prostrated themselves on the ground, beseeching the consul and all present not to suffer new and false imputations to operate more powerfully to their prejudice, than their long course of services, known to all present, in their favour. They immediately assumed a mourning dress, and, going round to the houses of the principal men, supplicated with prayers and tears that their cause might be heard before they were condemned.

21. Marcus Juvencius Thalna, the pretor who had the jurisdiction between natives and foreigners, stimulated the public resentment against the Rhodians, proposing an order that "war be declared against the Rhodians, and that the people should choose one of the magistrates of the present year, who should be sent with a fleet to carry on that war:" he hoped that himself should be the person chosen. This proceeding was opposed by two of the plebeian tribunes, Marcus Antonius and Marcus Pomponius. But the pretor, on his part, commenced the business in a manner highly unprecedented, and of very pernicious tendency; for, without first consulting the senate, and without acquainting the consuls, of his own sole judgment he proposed to the people the question, "Was it their will and order that war should be declared against the Rhodians?" whereas it had ever, until then, been the practice first to take the judgment of the senate on such a matter, and then to lay the business before the people. On the other side, the plebeian tribunes [opposed this proceeding], although it was a received rule that no tribune should protest against a proposal until opportunity was given to private citizens to argue for and against it: in consequence of which it had often happened, that some, who had no intention of protesting, discovered improprieties in the question from the discourses of those who opposed it, and therefore did protest; and some, who came avowedly to protest, abstained from it, being convinced by the arguments adduced in its favour. On this occasion, the pretor and tribunes vied with each other in doing every thing out of time. [While the tribunes blamed the hasty proceeding of the pretor, they imitated the example by a premature protest. The only pretence they alleged for it was, the necessity of adjourning the business of the Rhodians until the general and the ten commissioners should return from Macedonia.]

22.* * * * *

"Whether we have transgressed or not, is yet doubtful; meanwhile, we suffer punishments and disgraces of all sorts. In former times, when we visited Rome, after the conquest of Carthage, after the defeat of Philip, and after that of Antiochus, we [were escorted] from a lodging furnished us by the public into the senate-house, to present our congratulations to you, conscript fathers; and from the senate-house to the capitol, carrying offerings to your gods. But now, from a vile and filthy inn, where scarcely could we get a reception for our money, treated as enemies, and forbid to lodge within the city, we come, in this squalid dress, to the Roman senate-house; we, Rhodians, on whom, a short time ago, you bestowed the provinces of Lycia and Caria; on whom you conferred the most ample rewards and honours. Even the Macedonians and Illyrians, you order, as we hear, to be free; though they were in servitude before they waged war with you. Not that we envy the good fortune of any; on the contrary, we acknowledge therein the usual clemency of the Roman people. But will you convert from allies into enemies the Rhodians, who, during the war, have maintained the strictest neutrality? You are the same Romans who boast that your wars are successful because they are just; who glory not so much in the issue of them (being, as you are, victorious) as in the commencement of them, because undertaken not without cause. Your war with the Carthaginians was occasioned by their having attacked Messana in Sicily. The rupture with Philip arose from his attempt to reduce Greece to slavery, and in giving assistance of men and money to Hannibal. Antiochus, on the invitation of the Ætolians, your enemies, came over in person, with a fleet, from Asia to Greece; and, by seizing Demetrias, Chalcis, and the Strait of Thermopylæ, endeavoured to dispossess you of a part of your empire. The motives to your war with Perseus were his attacks on your allies, and his putting to death the princes and leading members of certain states. But, if we are doomed to ruin, to what will our misfortune be ascribed? I do not yet separate the cause of the state from that of our countrymen, Polyaratus and Dino, with others, whom we have brought

* The beginning of this speech of Astymedes, chief of the Rhodian embassy, is lost.

hither in order to deliver them into your hands. But supposing every one of us were equally guilty, I ask, what was our crime with respect to the late war? We favoured, it is said, the interest of Perseus. But have we supported that prince against you in like manner as, in the wars of Antiochus and Philip, we supported you against those kings? Now, in what manner we are accustomed to assist our allies, and with what vigour to conduct wars, ask Caius Livius and Lucius Æmilius Regillus, who commanded your fleets on the coast of Asia. Your ships never fought a battle in which we did not co-operate. We, with our own fleet, fought one engagement at Samos, and a second on the coast of Pamphylia, against no less a commander than Hannibal. The victory which we gained in the latter was the more glorious to us, as the loss of a great part of our navy, with a considerable number of the principal young men, in the unfortunate fight at Samos, did not deter us from venturing again to give battle to the king's fleet on its return from Syria. These matters I have mentioned not out of ostentation (that would ill become our present situation), but to remind you in what way the Rhodians assist their allies.

23. "When Philip and Antiochus were subdued, we received from you very ample rewards. If the same fortune, which the favour of the gods and your own courage have procured to you, had fallen to the lot of Perseus, and we were to go into Macedonia to the victorious king, to demand rewards from him, what merit should we have to plead? Could we say that we had assisted him with money or with corn; with land or sea forces? Have we defended his garrison, or fought either under his generals or by ourselves? If he should inquire among the land and sea forces which we sent to act in concert with his, what answer could we give? Perhaps we might be brought to a trial before him, if successful, as we are now before you. All that we have gained by sending ambassadors to both, to mediate a peace, is, that we received no thanks from either party, and incurred from one of them accusations and danger. Perseus, indeed, might justly object to us, what cannot be objected by you, conscript fathers, that, at the commencement of the war, we sent ambassadors to Rome, promising supplies of all sorts requisite for the war, and engaging to be ready, as in former wars, with our ships, our arms, and our men. That we did not perform this, you

were yourselves the cause; you who, whatever was the reason, rejected our assistance on that occasion. We have, therefore, neither acted in any instance as enemies, nor been deficient in the duty of well-affected allies; which duty, had not you prevented us, we should have performed. What then shall we say? Rhodians, has there been nothing said or done in your country which you disapprove of, and which might give just cause of offence to the Romans? Henceforward I do not mean to defend what has been done; I am not so weak; but to distinguish the cause of the public from the guilt of private men. For there is no nation whatever that has not, generally, some ill-disposed members, and always an ignorant populace. I have heard that, even among the Romans, there have been men who worked themselves into power by courting the multitude; that the plebeians sometimes seceded from you, and that you lost the power of directing the affairs of government. If it were possible for this to happen in a state where the rules of conduct are so well established, who can wonder at there being some among us who, out of a wish to gain the king's friendship, seduced our meaner people by bad advice? Yet their intrigues produced no farther effect than our remaining inactive, without infringing our duty. I shall not pass by that which has been made the heaviest charge against our state during the war. We sent ambassadors at the same time to you and to Perseus, to mediate a peace; and that unfortunate undertaking was, by a furious orator, as we afterward heard, rendered foolish to the last degree; for it appears that he spoke in such a manner as Caius Popilius, the Roman ambassador, would have spoken, when you sent him to the two kings, Antiochus and Ptolemy, to induce them to cease from hostilities. But still, whether this conduct is to be called arrogance or folly, it was the same towards Perseus as towards you. States, as well as individuals, have their different characters; some are violent, others daring, others timid; some addicted to wine, others more particularly to women. The Athenian nation has the character of being quick and bold, beyond its strength, in beginning an enterprise; and the Lacedæmonian, of being dilatory and backward in entering on business, even when confident of success. I cannot deny that Asia, throughout its whole extent, produces men too much inclined to vanity, and that the speech of even the Rhodians is too

much tinctured with vain glory, which arises from our being supposed to hold some pre-eminence above the neighbouring states. That, however, is owing not so much to our particular strength, as to the marks of honour and esteem conferred on us by you. Our first embassy received a sufficient rebuke from you. But, if the disgrace which we then underwent was too trifling, surely the present mournful and suppliant embassy would be a sufficient expiation for the offence. Arrogance, it is true, creates disgust in some, and ridicule in others ; more especially if it be shown by an inferior towards a superior ; but no one has ever yet thought it deserving of capital punishment. It was to be feared the Rhodians should condemn the Romans ! Some men have spoken, even of the gods, in terms too presumptuous ; yet we have never heard of any one being struck with thunder on that account.

24. "What charge, then, remains, of which we are to acquit ourselves, since there has been no hostile act on our part ? Must the too haughty expressions of an ambassador, though they deserve the displeasure of the hearers, be punished by the ruin of the state ? Conscript fathers, I heard you debating on the penalty which we ought to pay for our secret wishes. Some assert that we favoured the king, and, therefore, that we should be punished with war ; others, that we did indeed wish him success, but ought not, on that account, to be held criminal, since neither the practice nor the laws of any state admit, that simply desiring the destruction of a foe should subject any one to the penalty of death. We are absolved from the punishment, but not from the crime ; and for this it may be thought we should be thankful ; but we lay down this law for ourselves ; if we all entertained the wishes imputed to us, we will then make no distinction between the will and the deed : let us all be punished. If some of our people in power favoured you, and others the king, I do not demand that, for the sake of us, who were on your side, the favourers of the king may be saved ; but I pray you that we may not be ruined through them. You are not more inveterate against them than is our state itself ; and, knowing this, most of them fled or put themselves to death ; the others have been condemned by us, and will soon be in your power, conscript fathers. The rest of us Rhodians, as we have merited no thanks during the war, so neither have we deserved punishment. Let our former services

be set against our late inactivity. You have recently waged war with three kings : let not the demerit of our inaction, during one of these wars, outweigh the merit of having fought on your side in the other two. Consider Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, as you would three votes ; two of them acquit us, one is doubtful, but rather inclines to our side than otherwise. If they were to sit in judgment, they would give sentence against us. Conscript fathers, you are to decide whether Rhodes is to continue to exist or to be utterly destroyed. The issue of your deliberations will not be war ; because, conscript fathers, though it is in your power to declare war, it is not in your power to wage it, as not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you. If you persist in your anger, we will beg time from you, until we carry home an account of this unhappy embassy. We will then, every free person of the Rhodians, both men and women, with all our wealth, embark in ships, and leaving the seats of our tutelary deities, both public and private, repair to Rome ; where, heaping together in the Comitium, at the door of your senate-house, all our gold and silver, all the public and private property that we possess, we will submit our persons, and those of our wives and children, to your disposal ; that, whatever we are to suffer, we may suffer here, and be far removed from the sight of the sacking and burning of our city. The Romans may pass a judgment that the Rhodians are enemies ; but we have also a right, in some degree, to judge ourselves ; and we never will judge ourselves your enemies, nor do one hostile act, should we even suffer the last extremities."

25. Such was their speech ; after which they all prostrated themselves again, and, as supplicants, held out olive-branches ; but at length they were raised, and withdrew from the senate-house. The opinions of the senators were then demanded. The most inveterate against the Rhodians were those who, as consuls, pretors, or lieutenant-generals, had acted in Macedonia during the war ; and the person who was most useful to their cause was Marcus Porcius Cato, who, though naturally austere, acted his part as a senator on this occasion with much mildness. It is not necessary here to give a specimen of his copious eloquence, by inserting his speech, as he has published it himself in the fifth book of his *Antiquities*. The answer given to the Rhodians was, that

“they should neither be declared enemies, nor any longer be considered as allies.” At the head of this embassy were Philocrates and Astymedes. Half their number, with Philocrates, were ordered to carry home to Rhodes an account of their proceedings; and the other half, with Astymedes, to remain at Rome, that they might be acquainted with what passed, and inform their countrymen. For the present, they were commanded to remove their governors out of Lycia and Caria before a certain day. This news was in itself sufficiently afflicting; nevertheless, as it relieved the Rhodians from the dread of a greater evil, for they had feared a war, it occasioned even a degree of joy. They therefore immediately voted a present, amounting in value to twenty thousand pieces of gold; and deputed Theodotus, the commander of their fleet, to be the bearer of it. They wished to procure an alliance with the Romans; but in such a manner as that no order of the people should pass concerning it, nor any thing be committed to writing; so that, if they should fail of success, the disgrace of a refusal might appear the less. Theodotus was empowered, singly, to negotiate that business, with the above proviso; for, during a considerable length of time, they had maintained a friendship with the Romans, without being bound by any treaty; their reason for which was, that they might neither preclude the kings from all hope of their assistance, if any of them should need it, nor themselves from a participation of the advantages which might accrue from the good fortune and liberality of the said kings. At this time, however, an alliance seemed particularly desirable, not so much for the sake of security against others (for, excepting the Romans, they feared none) as to render them less liable to jealousies on the part of the Romans. About this time the Caunians revolted from them, and the Mylassians seized on the towns of the Euromensians. The spirit of their community was not so totally broken as to hinder their perceiving, that if Lycia and Caria were taken from them by the Romans, their other provinces would either assert their own freedom by a revolt, or be seized on by their neighbours; and that themselves would be shut up in a small island, within the shores of a barren country, inadequate to the maintenance of the numerous people in so large a city. They therefore sent out with all speed a body of troops, and reduced the Caunians to obedience, though they had received

succours from Cybara : and afterward defeated in a battle at Orthosia the Mylassians and Alabandians, who, having seized the province of Euroma, had united their forces, and came to meet them.

26. Such were the occurrences in Rhodes, in Macedonia, and in Rome. Meanwhile, in Illyria, Lucius Anicius, having reduced King Gentius under his power, as before mentioned, placed a garrison in Scodra, which had been the capital of the kingdom, and gave the command to Gabinus. He also garrisoned Rhizo and Olcinium, towns very conveniently situated, and appointed Caius Licinius commander. Committing the government of Illyria to these two, he marched, with the rest of his forces, into Epirus. Here, Phanota was the first place which submitted to him, the whole multitude, with fillets on their heads, coming out to meet him. Placing a garrison there, he went over into Molossis ; all the towns of which province, except Passaro, Tecmo, Phylace, and Horreum, having surrendered, he marched first against Passaro. The two men of the greatest authority in that city were Antinous and Theodotus, who were remarkable for their warm attachment to Perseus and hatred to the Romans, into a revolt from whom the whole nation had been hurried by their instigations. These men, conscious of their own delinquency, and despairing of pardon, shut the gates, that they might be buried under the general ruin of their country, and exhorted the multitude to prefer death to slavery. No man dared to open his lips against men of such transcendent power. At last one Theodotus, a young man of distinction (his greater dread of the Romans overpowering the lesser fear of his own leaders), exclaimed, "What madness has seized you, to make the public accessory to the crimes of individuals, and only two in number ? I have often heard mention made of men who offered themselves to death for the sake of their country ; but never, before these, were any found who required that their country should perish for theirs. Why not open our gates, and submit to that power to which the whole world has submitted ?" As he spoke thus, he was followed by the multitude ; on which Antinous and Theodotus, rushing out on the first advanced guards of the enemy, and freely exposing themselves to their weapons, were slain, and the city was surrendered to the Romans. Through a similar obstinacy in Cephalus, a man in power,

the gates of Tecmo were shut ; but he was soon put to death, and then the town capitulated. Neither Phylace nor Horreum stood a siege. Having thus reduced Epirus, Anicius distributed his troops into winter-quarters through the most convenient towns ; and, returning into Illyria, held a general convention at Scodra, where the five commissioners had arrived from Rome, and to which place he had summoned the principal men from all parts of the province. There, with the advice of the council, he proclaimed from his tribunal, that “ the senate and people of Rome granted freedom to the Illyrians ; and that he would withdraw his garrisons from all their towns, citadels, and castles. That the Issans and Taulantians, with the Pirustans, the Rhizonites, and the Olcinians, should not only enjoy liberty, but likewise an immunity from taxes ; because, when Gentius was in his full strength, they had quitted him and sided with the Romans. That the same exemption was granted to the Daorseans, because they forsook Caravantius, and came over with their arms to the Romans ; and that the Scodrans, Dassarensians, Selepitans, and the rest of the Illyrians, should pay half the taxes which they had formerly paid to their king.” He then divided Illyria into three districts ; the first was composed of the people above mentioned ; the second comprehended all the Labeatians ; and the third the Agranonites, Rhizonites, and Olcinians, with the contiguous states. Having thus regulated affairs in Illyria, he returned into Epirus, to his winter-quarters at Passaro.

27. While these matters passed in Illyria, Paulus, before the arrival of the ten commissioners, sent his son Quintus Maximus, who was by this time returned from Rome, to sack Agassæ and Æginium ; the former, because the inhabitants, after surrendering their city to the consul, and voluntarily soliciting an alliance with Rome, had revolted again to Perseus : the crime of the people of Æginium was of a late date ; not giving credit to the report of the Romans being victorious, they had treated with hostile cruelty some soldiers who came into the city. He also detached Lucius Postumius to pillage the city of Ænia, because the inhabitants had continued in arms with more obstinacy than the neighbouring nations. Autumn now approached, when he resolved to make a tour through Greece, in order to take a view of those celebrated curiosities, the knowledge of which is, by the

major part of a people, generally taken from the reports of others. With this intention, he gave the command of his quarters to Cains Sulpicius Gallus, and, with a moderate retinue, began his journey, in which he was accompanied by his son Scipio, and Athenæus, King Eumenes's brother. He directed his route through Thessaly to Delphi, so famous for its oracle, where he offered sacrifices to Apollo; and observing in the porch some unfinished pillars, on which it had been intended to place statues of King Persæus, he determined that statues of himself should be erected on them, to commemorate his successes. He also visited the temple of Jupiter Trophonius at Lebadia; where, after viewing the mouth of the cave, through which people applying to the oracle descend in order to obtain information from the gods, he sacrificed to Jupiter and Hercyna, who have a temple there; and then went down to Chalcis, to see the curiosities of the Euripus, and of the Island of Eubœa, which is there united to the continent by a bridge. From Chalcis he passed over to Aulis, a port three miles distant, and famous for having been formerly the station of Agamemnon's fleet of one thousand ships; he then visited the temple of Diana, in which the Argive chief purchased a passage to Troy, by offering his daughter Iphigenia as a victim at the altar. Thence he came to Oropus, in Attica, where the prophet Amphilochus is worshipped as a god, and has an ancient temple surrounded by delightful springs and streams. He then went to Athens, which, though filled with only the decayed relics of ancient grandeur, still contained many things worthy of observation; the citadel, the port, the walls connecting Piræus with the city, the dock-yards, the monuments of illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, exceedingly curious, both in respect of the materials of various kinds, and the skill of the several artists.

28. After sacrificing to Minerva, the guardian of the citadel, he continued his journey, and on the second day arrived at Corinth. At this time that city flourished in extraordinary splendour; the citadel too, and the isthmus, afforded admirable views; the former, towering up to an immense height, yet abounding with springs; and the latter, separating by a narrow neck two seas, which almost meet from the east and west. He next visited the celebrated cities of Sicyon and Argos; then Epidaurus, which, though not comparable

to them in epulence, was yet remarkable for a famous temple of Esculapius, standing at five miles' distance, and at that time rich in offerings dedicated to that semi-deity by the sick, in acknowledgment of the recovery of their health; but now showing only the traces of them, whence they have been torn away. Thence he proceeded to Lacedæmon, renowned not for magnificent works of art, but for its laws and discipline; and then, passing through Megalopolis, he went up to Olympia. Here, having taken a view of all things worthy of notice, and beholding Jupiter in a manner present before him, he was struck with the deepest reverence; so much so, that he ordered preparations to be made for a sacrifice with more than usual magnificence, and as if he were going to make offerings in the capitol. Thus he finished his circuit through Greece; during which he never once inquired how any one, either in their public or private capacity, had stood affected towards Perseus during the war; being unwilling to disturb the minds of the allies with any kind of apprehensions. On his way back to Demetrias he was met by a crowd of Ætolians in mourning apparel. Expressing surprise, and asking the reason of this proceeding, he was told that five hundred and fifty of the chief of their countrymen had been put to death by Lyciscus and Tisippus, who surrounded their senate with Roman soldiers, sent by their commander Bæbius; that others had been driven into exile; and that the goods of the killed and exiled were in the hands of their accusers. They were ordered to attend him at Amphipolis; and then, having met Cneius Octavius at Demetrias, who informed him that the ten commissioners were landed, he laid aside all other business, and went to Apollonia to meet them. Perseus, being too negligently guarded, had come hither to meet him from Amphipolis, the distance of a day's journey. To him Æmilius spoke with great courtesy; but, when at the quarters of the troops, he gave a severe reprimand to Caius Sulpicius; first, for allowing Perseus thus to ramble through the province, and next, for indulging the soldiers so far as to suffer them to strip the buildings on the city walls of the tiles, in order to cover their own winter huts. These tiles he ordered to be carried back, the buildings to be repaired, and put in their former condition. Perseus, with his elder son Philip, he gave in charge to Aulus Postumius, and sent them into a place of confinement; his daughter and

younger son he ordered to be brought from Samothrace to Amphipolis, and treated them with all possible kindness.

29. When the day arrived on which he had ordered ten chiefs from each of the states to attend at Amphipolis, and all the writings, wherever deposited, and the money belonging to the king, to be brought thither, he seated himself, with the ten commissioners, on his tribunal, where he was surrounded by the whole multitude of the Macedonians. Though they were inured to the government of a king, yet a tribunal of a different kind from what they were acquainted with impressed them with terror; the lictor clearing the way, the herald, the sergeant, were all objects strange to their eyes and ears, and capable of inspiring awe in allies, much more in conquered enemies. Silence being proclaimed by the herald, Paulus promulgated in the Latine tongue the regulations adopted by the senate and by himself, with the advice of the council; and the Pretor Cneius Octavius repeated the same in Greek. First of all he ordered that "the Macedonians should live free; possessing the same cities and lands as before; governed by their own laws, and creating annual magistrates; and that they should pay to the Roman people one half of the taxes which they had paid to their kings. Next, that Macedonia should be divided into four districts. That one which should be deemed the first should comprehend the lands between the rivers Strymon and Nessus, with the addition of that tract beyond the Nessus, towards the east, wherein Perseus had possessed villages, castles, or towns, excepting *Ænus*, *Maronea*, and *Abdera*; and of the tract beyond the Strymon, towards the west, comprising all *Bisaltica*, with *Heraclea*, which they call *Sintice*. That the second district should be the country enclosed by the river Strymon on the east, where were excepted *Sintice*-*Heraclea* and *Bisaltica*, and by the river *Axius* on the west; to which should be added the *Pæonians*, living on the eastern bank of the *Axius*. That the third district should have for its bounds the river *Axius* on the east, the *Peneus* on the west, and *Mount Bora* on the north. That to this division should be joined that tract of *Pæonia* which stretches along the western side of the *Axius*; *Edessa* also, and *Berœa*, should be united to it. The fourth district was to consist of the country on the north of *Mount Bora*, touching *Illyria* on one side and *Epirus* on the other. He then appointed the capitals of

the districts, in which the councils should be held ; of the first district, Amphipolis ; of the second, Thessalonica ; of the third, Pella ; and of the fourth, Pelagonia. In these he ordered that the councils of the several districts should be assembled, the public money deposited, and the magistrates elected." He then gave notice that it was determined that intermarriages should not be allowed ; that no one should be at liberty to purchase lands or houses out of the limits of his own district ; that the mines of gold and silver must not be worked, but those of iron and copper might ; the persons working them paying one half of the tax which they had paid to the king. He likewise forbade the importation of salt. To the Dardanians, who reclaimed Pæonia, because it had formerly been theirs, and was contiguous to their territory, he declared, that he gave liberty to all who had been under subjection to Perseus. Pæonia he refused ; but, to compensate for this refusal, he granted them liberty to purchase salt, and ordered that the third district should bring it down to Stobi ; and he fixed the price to be paid for it. He prohibited them from cutting ship-timber themselves, or suffering others to cut it. To those districts which bordered on the barbarians (and, excepting the third, this was the case of them all) he gave permission to keep armed forces on their frontiers.

30. These terms, announced on the first day of the convention, affected the minds of those who were present with very different emotions. Liberty being granted them beyond their expectation, and the annual tribute being lightened, gave them high satisfaction ; but then, by the prohibition of a commercial intercourse between the districts, they thought the territory dismembered, like an animal torn asunder into separate limbs, which stood in need of mutual aid from each other ; so little did the Macedonians themselves know how great was the extent of their country, how aptly it was formed for a division, and how competent each part was to subsist by itself. The first division contains the Bisaltians,—men of the greatest courage, residing beyond the river Nessus, and on both sides of the Strymon ; it is peculiarly productive of the fruits of the earth : has mines also, and the city of Amphipolis, most advantageously situated ; for, standing just in the way, it shuts up every passage into Macedonia from the east. The second division has two very remarkable cities, Thessa-

lonica and Cassandrea, and the country of Pallene, abundantly productive of grain and fruits ; it is also well calculated for maritime business, by means of its harbours at Toro and at Mount Athos (called *Ænea*), besides others, some of which are conveniently situated on the Eubœa, and some opposite the Hellespont. The third district has the celebrated cities of Edessa, Beroea, and Pella ; and is partly inhabited by the Vettians, a warlike people, also by great numbers of Gauls and Illyrians, who are industrious husbandmen. The fourth district is occupied by the Eordæans, Lyncestans, and Pelagonians, to whom are joined Atintania, Stymphalis, and Elemiotia. All this tract is cold, and the soil rough, and unfavourable to tillage ; to which the tempers of the inhabitants bear a strong resemblance. They are rendered the more ferocious by their vicinity to the barbarians, who, by frequent attacks, inure them to a life of arms, and during peace introduce their customs among them. Having, by this division of Macedonia, separated the interests of the several districts, he informed them that the regulations which were to be binding on the Macedonians in general should be made known to them when the time came, which he intended to appoint, for giving them a body of laws.

31. The *Ætolians* were then summoned to appear ; but, in the trial of their cause, the inquiry was directed to discover rather which party had favoured the Romans and which the king, than which had done and which suffered the injury ; for the murderers were absolved of guilt, the exilements confirmed, and the death of the citizens overlooked. Aulus Bæbius alone was condemned for having lent Roman soldiers on the occasion. The consequence of this decision through the states and nations of Greece was, that it puffed up the party which favoured the Romans to an intolerable degree of arrogance ; and subjected to be trodden under their feet all those who were in the least suspected of being in the king's interest. Of the leading men in the states there were three parties : two of which, paying servile court either to the Romans or the kings, sought to aggrandize themselves by enslaving their countries ; while the third, taking a different course from either, and struggling against both, stood up in support of their laws and liberty. These last had the greatest share of the affection of their countrymen, but the least interest among foreigners. The great successes of the Romans had

raised their partisans to such importance, that they alone held the offices of magistracy ; they alone were employed on embassies. Great numbers of these, coming from the diets of Peloponnesus, Bœotia, and other parts of Greece, filled the ears of the ten commissioners with insinuations, that “ those who, through folly, had openly boasted of being friends and intimates of Perseus, were not the only persons who had favoured his cause ; much greater numbers had done so in secret. That there was another party, who, under pretence of supporting liberty, had, in the diets, advanced every measure prejudicial to the Roman interest ; and that those nations would not continue faithful, unless the spirits of these parties were subdued, and the influence of those who had no other object than the advancement of the Roman power were augmented and strengthened.” These men gave a list of the persons alluded to, whom the general called by letter out of Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, to follow him to Rome, and account for their conduct. Two of the ten commissioners, Caius Claudius and Cneius Domitius, were sent to Achaia, that they might, on the spot, summon by proclamation the persons concerned there. For this procedure there were two reasons ; one, that it was believed that the Achæans would be apt to show more courage than the rest, and refuse obedience, and, perhaps, even endanger Callicrates, and other authors of the charges. The other reason for summoning them on the spot was, that the commissioners had in their possession letters from the chief men of the other nations, which had been found among the king’s papers ; but with regard to the Achæans the charges were not clear, because no letters of theirs had been discovered. When the Ætolians were dismissed, the Acarnanian nation was called in. No alteration was made in their situation, only Leucas was disunited from their council. Then, taking a wider range for their inquiries respecting those who had publicly or privately favoured the king, they extended their jurisdiction even into Asia, and sent Labeo to demolish Antissa, in the Island of Lesbos, and to remove the inhabitants to Methymna ; because, when Antenor, the commander of the king’s fleet, was cruising with his squadron on the coast of Lesbos, they admitted him into their harbour, and supplied him with provisions. Two distinguished men were beheaded ; Andronicus, son of Andronicus, an Ætolian, because, accompany-

ing his father, he had borne arms against the Roman people ; and Neo, a Theban, by whose advice his countrymen were led to form an alliance with Perseus.

32. After the interruption caused by the consideration of these foreign matters, Æmilius reassembled the council of Macedonia, and informed them, that "with regard to the future form of government, they must elect senators, called by themselves Synedroi, to whom the administration of public affairs should be intrusted." Then was read a list of Macedonians of distinction, who, with their children above fifteen years of age, were ordered to go before him into Italy. This injunction, at first view cruel, appeared afterward, to the Macedonian populace, to have been intended in favour of their freedom. For the persons named were Perseus's friends and courtiers, the generals of his armies, and the commanders of his ships or garrisons ; men accustomed to pay servile obedience to the king, and to domineer haughtily over others ; some immoderately rich, others vying in expense with those to whom they were inferior in point of fortune ; in a word, none possessed of a disposition suited to a member of a commonwealth, and all of them incapable of paying due obedience to the laws, and of enjoying an equal participation of liberty. All, therefore, who had held any employment under the king, even those who had been put on the most trivial embassies, were ordered to leave Macedonia and go into Italy ; and the penalty of death was denounced against any who disobeyed the mandate. He framed laws for Macedonia with such care, that they seemed intended not for vanquished foes, but for faithful and deserving allies ; laws so wise, that even long experience, the infallible test of excellence, has not been able to discover in them any thing liable to exception. Serious business being now despatched, he turned his thoughts to the celebration of games, for which he had long been making preparations, having sent people to the states and kings in Asia to give notice of the intended diversions. In his late tour through Greece, he had himself mentioned his design to the principal people ; and he now exhibited them at Amphipolis with very great splendour. There came thither from every quarter multitudes of artists of every sort, skilled in such exhibitions, wrestlers, and remarkably fine horses ; deputations also came with victims and every other mark of respect usually shown to gods

or men, on occasion of the great games of Greece. Hence it came to pass, that people's admiration was excited, not only by the magnificence, but likewise by the skill displayed in the entertainments ; in which kind of business the Romans were at that time quite inexperienced. Feasts were also provided for the ambassadors with the same degree of care and elegance. An expression of his was generally remarked, that, to furnish out a feast, and to conduct games, required talents equal to those of a consummate general.

33. When the games of every kind were finished, he put the brazen shields on board the ships ; the rest of the arms being all collected together in a huge pile, the general himself, after praying to Mars, Minerva, Mother Lœa, and the other deities, to whom it is right and proper to dedicate the spoils of enemies, set fire to them with a torch, and then the military tribunes, who stood round, all threw fire on the same. It was remarkable, that at such a general congress of Europe and Asia, where such multitudes were assembled, some to congratulate the victors, some to see the shows ; and where such numerous bodies of land and naval forces were quartered, so great was the plenty of every thing, and so moderate the price of provisions, that the general made presents of divers articles to private persons, and states, and nations ; not only for their present use, but even to carry home with them. The crowd were not more highly gratified by the sight of the stage entertainments, the gymnastics, and the horse-races, than by that of the Macedonian booty, which was all exposed to view. In the palace was such a number of statues, pictures, tapestry, and vases, most elaborately formed of gold, silver, brass, and ivory, that they seemed intended not merely for present show, like the furniture of that of Alexandria, but even for the use of after times. These were embarked in the fleet, and given in charge to Cneius Octavius, to be carried to Rome. Paulus then dismissed the ambassadors with every demonstration of good-will ; and, crossing the Strymon, encamped for the night at the distance of a mile from Amphipolis ; then resuming his march, he arrived on the fifth day at Pella. Halting for two days at a place called Spelæum, he detached his son Quintus Maximus, and Publius Nasica, with half of the troops, to lay waste the country of the Illyrians, who had assisted Perseus in the war, ordering them to meet him at Oricum ; then, taking the

road to Epirus, on the evening of the fifteenth day he reached the city of Passaro.

34. Not far from hence was the camp of Anicius, to whom he sent a letter, desiring him not to be alarmed at any thing that should happen, for the senate had granted to his soldiers the plunder of those cities in Epirus which had revolted to Persens. He despatched centurions, who were to give out that they came to bring away the garrisons, in order that the Epirotes might be free as well as the Macedonians; and summoning before him ten of the principal men of each city, he gave them strict injunctions that all their gold and silver should be brought into the public street. He then sent cohorts to the several states, ordering those who had the greater distance to go to set out sooner than the others, that they might all arrive at the places of their destination on the same day. The tribunes and centurions were instructed how to act. Early in the morning, all the treasure was collected; at the fourth hour the signal was given to the soldiers to plunder, and so ample was the booty acquired, that the shares distributed were four hundred denariuses* to a horseman, and two hundred to a footman. One hundred and fifty thousand persons were led away captive. Then the walls of the plundered cities, in number about seventy, were razed; the effects sold, and the soldiers' shares paid out of the price. Paulus then marched down to the sea to Oricum: he found that, contrary to his opinion, he had by no means satisfied the wishes of his men, who were enraged at being excluded from sharing in the spoil of the king, as if they had not waged any war in Macedonia. Finding at Oricum the troops sent with his son Maximus and Scipio Nasica, he embarked the army, and sailed over to Italy. Anicius, a short time after, having held a convention of the rest of the Epirotes and Acarnanians, and having ordered those of their chiefs whose cases he had reserved for consideration to follow him, waited only for the return of the ships that had carried the Macedonian army, and then passed over to Italy. During the transactions in Macedonia and Epirus, the ambassadors sent with Attalus, to put a stop to hostilities between the Gauls and King Eumenes, arrived in Asia. Having agreed to a suspension of arms for the winter, the Gauls were gone

* 12l. 18s. 4d.

home, and the king had retired to Pergamus into winter-quarters, where he was seized with a heavy fit of sickness. The first appearance of spring drew out both parties; the Gauls had advanced as far as Synada, while Eumenes had collected all his forces at Sardis. The Romans went to confer with Solovettius, general of the Gauls, and Attalus accompanied them; but it was not thought proper that he should enter the camp, lest the passions of either party might be heated by debate. Publius Licinius held a conference, with the aforesaid chieftain; and the account he gave was, that mild remonstrances rendered him more presumptuous. It might, therefore, seem matter of wonder, that the mediation of Roman ambassadors should have had so great influence on Antiochus and Ptolemy, two powerful kings, as to make them instantly conclude a peace; and yet that it should have had no kind of efficacy with the Gauls.

35. The captive kings, Perseus and Gentius, with their children, were the first brought to Rome and put in custody, and next the other prisoners; then came the Macedonians, who had been laid under injunctions to attend the senate, with the principal Greeks in the same circumstances; for of these, not only such as were at home were summoned, but even those who were said to be at the courts of the kings. In a few days after, Paulus was carried up the Tiber to the city in a royal galley of vast size, which was moved by sixteen tiers of oars, and decorated with Macedonian spoils, consisting not only of beautiful armour, but of tapestry and such kind of works, which had been the property of the king, while the banks of the river were covered with the multitudes that poured out to do him honour. After a few days arrived Anicius, and Cneius Octavius with his fleet. The senate voted a triumph to each, and charged the Pretor Quintus Cassius to apply to the plebeian tribunes, who should propose to the commons the passing of an order, investing them with plenary authority during the day on which they should ride through the city in triumph. Secondary objects are generally secure from popular displeasure, which usually aims at the highest. With regard to the triumphs of Anicius and Octavius, no hesitation was made; yet Paulus, with whom these men could not, without blushing, set themselves in comparison, felt the attacks of invidious detraction. He had kept his soldiers under the ancient

rules of discipline, and his donations out of the spoil were smaller than they hoped to have received, when the treasures of the king were so large ; for if he had indulged their avarice, there would have been nothing left to be carried to the treasury. The whole Macedonian army were disposed to neglect attending, in support of their commander's pretensions, at the assembly held for the passing of the order. But Servius Sulpicius Galba (who had been military tribune in Macedonia, and who harboured a personal enmity against the general), partly by his own importunities, partly by soliciting them, through the soldiers of his own legion,—had spirited them up to attend in full numbers, to give their votes, and to “take revenge on a haughty and more powerful commander, by rejecting the order proposed for his triumph. The commons of the city would follow the judgment of the soldiery. Was it right that he should have power to withhold the money, and the army not have power to withhold the honours ? Let him not hope to reap the fruits of gratitude which he had not merited.”

36. By such expressions did he stimulate their resentment ; and when, in the capitol, Tiberius Sempronius, tribune of the commons, proposed the order, and it came to the turn of private citizens to speak on the subject, the passing of it was thought so clear of all doubt, that not one stood forth to argue in favour of it. Whereon Servius Galba suddenly came forward, and demanded of the tribune that, “as it was then the eighth hour, and as there would not be time enough to produce all the reasons for not ordering a triumph to Lucius Æmilius, they should adjourn to the next day, and take up the business early in the morning ; for not less than an entire day would be sufficient to say what was requisite in the cause.” The tribune desired that, whatever he chose to object, he would say it then ; and he spoke so long as to protract the affair until night. He represented and reminded the soldiers that “the duties of the service had been enforced with unusual severity ; that greater toil and greater danger had been imposed on them than the occasion required ; while, on the other hand, in respect of rewards and honours, every thing was conducted on the narrowest scale ; and if such commanders succeeded in their views, military employment would become more irksome and more laborious, while it would produce to conquering troops neither riches nor honours. That

the Macedonians were in a better condition than the Roman soldiers. He then told them, that if they would attend next day, in full numbers, to reject the order, men in power would learn that every thing was not in the disposal of the commander, but that there was something in that of the soldiery." The soldiers, instigated by such arguments, filled the capitol next day with such a crowd, that no one else could find room to come in and vote. The tribes first called in gave a negative to the question ; on which the principal men in the state ran together to the capitol, crying out that "it was a shameful thing that Lucius Paulus, after his success in such an important war, should be robbed of a triumph ; that commanders should be given up, in a state of subjection, to the licentiousness and avarice of their men. A desire of popularity, of itself, too often led generals astray ; but what must be the consequence if the soldiers were raised into the place of masters over their generals ?" All heaped violent reproaches on Galba. At last, when the uproar was calmed, Marcus Servilius, who had been consul and master of the horse, requested that the tribunes would begin the proceedings anew, and give him an opportunity of speaking to the people. These, after withdrawing to deliberate, being overcome by the arguments of some of the first rank, complied with the entreaty of Servilius, that they would call back the tribes as soon as himself and other private persons should have delivered their sentiments.

37. Servilius then said : " Roman citizens, if there were no other proof of the eminent abilities of Lucius Æmilius as a commander, this one would be sufficient : that, notwithstanding he had in his camp soldiers so inconstant and mutinously inclined, with an enemy so active, so zealous, and so eloquent, to stir up the passions of the multitude, yet was there never any tumult in his army. That strictness of discipline, at which they have now conceived so much displeasure, kept them then in order. Subjected to the ancient rules, they then remained quiet. As to Servius Galba, if he were disposed to set himself up for an orator, and to give a specimen of his eloquence in accusing Lucius Paulus, he ought not now to obstruct his triumph ; if for no other reason than this, that the senate has pronounced that, in their judgment, he has deserved it. But the proper way would have been, on the day after the triumph, when he should see Æmilius in a private station, to prefer a charge, and prosecute him according to the laws ; or else,

when he himself should be invested with the magistracy. Let Galba cite him to a trial; let him accuse his enemy before the people. In that method, Lucius Paulus would both receive the reward of his proper conduct, a triumph for extraordinary success in war, and also meet punishment, if he had committed any thing unworthy of his former or present reputation. Instead of which, he has undertaken to depreciate the character of a man to whom he cannot impute a single act either criminal or dishonourable. Yesterday he demanded a whole day for making his charges on Lucius Paulus, and four hours which remained of that day he spent in delivering a speech to that purpose. What accused man was ever so transcendently wicked, that his offences could not be set forth in that number of hours? And yet, in all that time, what did he object to him, that Lucius Paulus, if actually on his trial, would have wished to be denied? Let me, for a moment, suppose two assemblies; one composed of the soldiers who served in Macedonia, the other of sounder judgment, unbiased either by favour or dislike, where the whole body of the Roman people is the judge. Let the business be discussed first before the citizens, peaceably assembled in their gowns. Servius Galba, what have you to say before the Roman citizens? for such a discourse as you made before is totally precluded. You were obliged to stand on your guards with too much strictness and attention; the watches were visited with too much exactness and severity; you had more fatigue than formerly, because the general himself went the rounds, and enforced the duties. On the same day you performed a march, and, without repose, were led forth to battle. Even when you had gained a victory, he did not allow you rest; he led you immediately in pursuit of the enemy. When he has it in his power to make you rich, by dividing the spoil, he intends to carry the king's treasure in his triumph, and deposite it in the treasury. Though these arguments may have some degree of weight, and are well calculated to stimulate the passions of soldiers, who imagine that too little deference has been shown to their licentious temper, and too little indulgence to their avarice, yet they would have no kind of influence on the judgment of the Roman people; who, though they should not recollect old accounts, and what they heard from their parents, of the numerous defeats suffered in consequence of improper indulgence given by

commanders, or of victories gained in consequence of strict enforcement of discipline ; yet must they surely remember, so late as in the last Punic war, what a difference there was between Marcus Minucius, the master of the horse, and Quintus Fabius Maximus, the dictator. The accuser, therefore, would soon know, that any defence on the part of Paulus would be needless and superfluous.

38. " Let us now pass to the other assembly ; and here I am not to address you as citizens, but as soldiers, if, indeed, you can hear yourselves so called without blushing, and feeling the deepest shame for your illiberal treatment of your general. And, to say the truth, I feel my own mind affected in a very different manner, when I suppose myself speaking to an army, than it was just now, when I addressed myself to the commons of the city. For what say you, soldiers, is there any man in Rome, except Perseus, that wishes there should be no conquest over Macedonia ; and are not you tearing him in pieces with the same hands with which you subdued the Macedonians ? That man who would hinder you from entering the city in triumph, would, if it had been in his power, have hindered you from conquering. Soldiers, you are mistaken if you imagine that a triumph is an honour to the general only, and not to the soldiers also, as well as to the whole Roman people. Not Paulus alone is interested in the present case. Many who failed of obtaining from the senate the grant of public entry, have triumphed on the Alban Mount. No man can ravish from Lucius Paulus the honour of having brought the Macedonian war to a conclusion, any more than he can from Caius Lutatius, that of putting an end to the first Punic war, or from Publius Cornelius, that of finishing the second ; or from those who have triumphed [either before those generals or since]. Neither will a triumph add to or diminish the honour of Lucius Paulus as a commander : the character of the soldiers, and of the whole Roman people, is more immediately concerned therein, lest they should incur the imputation of envy and ingratitude towards one of their most illustrious citizens, and appear to imitate, in this respect, the Athenians, who have repeatedly persecuted such by exciting the hatred of the populace. Your ancestors were sufficiently culpable in the case of Camillus. They treated him injuriously, before the city was recovered from the Gauls through his means ; and the

same was done by you in the case of Publius Africanus. How must we blush when we reflect that the habitation of the conqueror of Africa was at Linternum ; his tomb at Linternum ? And shall Lucius Paulus, equal to any of those men in renown, receive from you an equal share of ill-treatment ? Let that, then, be blotted out, which dishonours us among foreigners, and injures us at home ; for who will henceforward wish to resemble either Africanus or Paulus, in a state where merit meets only with ingratitude and enmity ? If there were no disgrace in the case, and the question merely concerned glory, what triumph does not imply the general glory of the Roman race ? Are all the numerous triumphs over the Gauls, the Spaniards, and the Carthaginians, called the triumphs of the generals only, or are they not, in fact, the triumphs of the Roman people ? As the triumphs were celebrated not merely over Pyrrhus or Hannibal, but over the Epirotes and Carthaginians, so it was not the individual Manius Curius or Publius Cornelius, but the Romans, that triumphed. The soldiers, indeed, are peculiarly interested in this case ; for it is their part to appear with crowns of laurel, and decorated with the honorary presents which each has received, to utter the acclamations of victory, and march in procession through the city, singing their own and their commander's praises. If, at any time, soldiers are not brought home from a province to such honours, they murmur ; and yet, even in that case, they consider themselves distinguished, though absent, because by their hands the victory was obtained. Soldiers, if it should be asked for what purpose you were brought home to Italy, and not disbanded immediately when the business of the province was finished ; why you came to Rome in a body round your standards ; why you loiter here rather than repair to your several homes ; what other answer can you give than that you wished to be seen in festival ? And, certainly, you have a right to show yourselves as conquerors.

39. "Triumphs have been lately celebrated over Philip, father of the present prince, and over Antiochus ; both of whom were in possession of their thrones when these were performed ; and shall there be no triumph over Perseus, who has been taken prisoner, and, with his children, brought away to this city ? But if (while the other generals mounted the

capitol in their chariots, clad in gold and purple) Lucius Paulus alone, reduced to a private rank, should, amid the crowd of gowned citizens, call out from the lower ground, and ask them, 'Lucius Anicius and Cneius Octavius, whether do you esteem yourselves or me more deserving of a triumph?' I am confident they would yield him the chariot, and, through shame, present to him with their own hands their ensigns of honour. Do you choose, citizens, that Gentius should be led in procession rather than Perseus; do you wish to triumph over an accessory rather than over the principal in the war? Shall the legions from Illyria, and the crews of the fleet, enter the city with laurel crowns; and shall the Macedonian legions, being refused one for themselves, be only spectators of other men's glories? What then will become of such a rich booty, the spoils of a victory so lucrative? Where shall be buried so many thousand suits of armour, stripped from the bodies of the enemy? or shall they be sent back to Macedonia? Where shall be lodged the statues of gold, of marble, and of ivory; the pictures, the ingenious productions of the loom; such a quantity of wrought silver and gold, and such a mass of money as the king's? Shall they be conveyed to the treasury by night, as if they were stolen? What will become of the greatest of all shows? where will that very celebrated and powerful king, Perseus, be exhibited to the eyes of a victorious people? What a concourse the captured king Syphax, an auxiliary only in the Punic war, caused, most of us remember; and shall the captured king Perseus, with his sons, Philip and Alexander, names so illustrious, be kept from the view of the public? All men are eagerly anxious to behold Lucius Paulus himself, twice consul, the conqueror of Greece, entering the city in his triumphal chariot. We made him consul for this very purpose, that he should finish a war which had been protracted for four years, to our great shame. When he obtained that province by lot, and when he was setting out for it, with presaging minds we destined to him victory; and shall we now, when he is victorious, refuse him a triumph; shall we defraud, not only men, but the gods also, of the honours due to them? A triumph is due to the gods, as well as to men: your ancestors commenced every business of importance with worshipping them, and ended all

in the same manner. The consul or pretor (when going to his province and to a war, dressed in his military robe, and attended by his lictors) offers vows in the capitol; and when he returns victorious, carries in triumph to the capitol, to the deities to whom he made the vows, the due offering of the Roman people. The victims that precede him are not the most immaterial part of the procession,—to demonstrate that the commander comes home with thanksgivings to the gods for the success granted to the business of the state. All those victims which he has provided to be led in his triumph, you may slay at sacrifices performed by different persons. Do you intend to interrupt those banquets of the senate, which are not allowed to be served up, either in any private, or even public place, if unconsecrated, but only in the capitol, whether they are meant for the gratification of men, or in honour both of gods and men,—because such is the will of Servius Galba? Shall the gates be shut against Lucius Paulus's triumph? Shall Perseus, King of Macedonia, with his children, the multitude of other captives, and the spoils of the Macedonians, be left behind on this side of the river? Shall Lucius Paulus, in a private character, go straight from the gate to his house, as if returning home from his country seat? And you, centurions, you, soldiers, listen to the votes of the senate respecting your general Paulus, rather than to the babbling of Servius Galba; listen to me rather than to him. He has learned nothing but to speak, and even that with rancour and malice. I have three-and-twenty times fought the enemy on challenges, and from every one I brought off spoils. I have my body plentifully marked with honourable scars, all received in front." It is said that he then stripped himself, and mentioned in what war each of his wounds was received; and that, while he was showing these, he happened to uncover what ought to be hid, and that a swelling in his groins raised a laugh among those near him, on which he said, "This too, which excites your laughter, I got by continuing days and nights on horseback; nor do I feel either shame or sorrow for it, any more than for these scars, since it never obstructs me in doing good service to the public, either in peace or war. An aged soldier, I have shown to youthful soldiers this body of mine, often wounded by the weapons of the enemy. Let Galba expose his, which

is sleek and unhurt. Tribunes, be pleased to call back the tribes to vote. Soldiers, I * * * * *

40. Valerius Antias tells us, that the total of the captured gold and silver carried in the procession was one hundred and twenty millions of sesterces;† but from the number of philippics, and the weight of the gold and silver, specifically set down by himself, the amount is unquestionably made much greater. An equal sum, it is said, had been either expended on the late war, or dissipated during the king's flight, on his way to Samothrace. It is wonderful that so large a quantity of money should have been amassed within the space of thirty years, since Philip's war with the Romans, out of the produce of the mines and the other branches of revenue. Philip began war against the Romans with his treasury very poorly supplied; Perseus, on the contrary, with his immensely rich. Last came Paulus, in his chariot, making a very majestic appearance, both from the dignity of his person and of his age. He was accompanied, among other illustrious personages, by his two sons, Quintus Maximus and Publius Scipio; then followed the cavalry, troop by troop, and the cohorts of infantry, each in its order. The donative distributed among them was one hundred denariuses‡ to each footman, double to a centurion, and triple to a horseman; and it is believed that he would have given double to each, had they not objected to his attaining the present honour, or had answered with thankful acclamations when that sum was announced as their reward. Perseus, led through the city in chains before the chariot of the general, his conqueror, was not the only instance, at the time, of the misfortunes incident to mankind; another appeared even in the victorious Paulus, though glittering in gold and purple: for of two sons (who, as he had given away two others on adoption, were the only remaining heirs of his name), the younger, about twelve years old, died five days before the triumph, and the elder, fourteen years of age, three days after it; children, who might have been expected, a short time before, to be carried in the chariot with their father, dressed in the pretexta, and

* The conclusion of this speech is lost. The effect of it was, that the order for the triumph of Lucius Paulus passed unanimously. The beginning of the account of the procession is also lost.

† 968,750*l*.

‡ 3*l*. 4*s*. 7*d*.

anticipating, in their hopes, the like kind of honours for themselves. A few days after, Marcus Antonius, tribune of the commons, summoned a general assembly at the general's request. Æmilius, after descanting on his own proper services, as usually done by other commanders, proceeded in a very remarkable manner, and well becoming a man of the first consequence in Rome.

41. "Although, Romans, I cannot suppose you uninformed, either of the success which has attended my endeavours in the service of the commonwealth, or of the two dreadful strokes which have lately crushed my house ; since, within a short space of time, my triumph and the funerals of my two sons have been exhibited to your view ; yet I beg leave to represent to you, in a few words, and with that temper which becomes me, a comparative view of my own private situation and the happy state of the public. Departing from Italy, I sailed from Brundisium at sunrise ; at the ninth hour, with my whole squadron, I reached Corcyra. On the fifth day after, I offered sacrifice to Apollo, at Delphi, in behalf of myself, of your armies and fleets. From Delphi I arrived, on the fifth day, in the camp : where, having received the command of the army, and put in order several matters which greatly impeded success, I advanced into the country, the enemy's post being impregnable, and there being no possibility of forcing Perseus to fight. In spite of the guards which he had stationed, I made my way through the pass at Petra, and at length, compelling the king to come to an engagement, gained a complete victory. I reduced Macedonia under the power of the Romans ; and, in fifteen days, finished a war which three consuls before me had, for three years, conducted in such a manner, that each left it to his successor more formidable than he had found it. Other prosperous events followed in consequence of this ; all the cities of Macedonia submitted ; the royal treasure came into my hands ; the king himself, with his children, was taken in the temple of Samothrace, delivered up, in a manner, by the gods themselves. I now thought my good fortune excessive, and became apprehensive of a change ; I began to dread the dangers of the sea in carrying away the king's vast treasure, and transporting the victorious army. When all arrived in Italy, after a prosperous voyage, and I had nothing farther to wish, I prayed that (as fortune generally from the highest ele-

vation rolls backwards) my own house, rather than the commonwealth, might feel the change. I trust, therefore, that the public is free from danger, by my having undergone such an extraordinary calamity, as to have my triumph come in between the funerals of my two sons ; such is the delusive imperfection of human happiness ! And though Perseus and myself are at present exhibited as the most striking examples of the vicissitudes to which mankind are liable, yet he—who, himself in captivity, saw his children led captive—has them still in safety ; while I, who triumphed over him, went up in my chariot to the capitol from the funeral of one son, and came down from the capitol to the bed of the other, just expiring ; nor out of so large a stock of children is there one remaining to bear the name of Lucius Æmilius Paulus : for, having a numerous progeny, I gave away two, on adoption, to the Cornelian and Fabian families. In the house of Paulus not one is there remaining but himself ! However, for this disaster of my own family, I find consolation in your happiness, and in the prosperous state of the commonwealth." These words, expressive of such magnanimity, moved the audience with deeper commiseration than if he had bewailed the loss of his children in the most plaintive terms.

42. Cneius Octavius celebrated a naval triumph over King Perseus on the calends of December, in which appeared neither prisoners nor spoils. He distributed to each seaman seventy-five denariuses ;* to the pilots who were on board, twice that sum ; and to the masters of ships, four times. A meeting of the senate was then held, and they ordered that Quintus Cassius should conduct King Perseus and his son Alexander to Alba, to be there kept in custody ; but that he should retain his attendants, money, silver, and furniture. Bitis, son to the King of Thrace, with the hostages he had given to Macedon, were sent to Carseoli ; the rest, who had been led in triumph, were ordered to be shut up in prison. A few days after this passed, ambassadors came from Cotys, King of Thrace, bringing money to ransom his son and the said hostages. Being introduced to an audience of the senate, they alleged, in excuse of Cotys, that he had not voluntarily assisted Perseus in the war, but had been compelled to it ; and they requested the senate to allow the hostages to be

* 2l. 8s. 5d.

ransomed at any rate that should be judged proper. They were answered, that "the Roman people remembered the friendship which had subsisted between them and Cotys, as well as with his predecessors and the Thracian nation; that the giving of hostages was the very fault laid to his charge, and not an apology for it; for Perseus, even when at rest from others, could not be formidable to the Thracian nation, much less when he was embroiled in a war with Rome. But that, notwithstanding Cotys had preferred the favour of Perseus to the friendship of the Roman people, yet the senate would consider rather what suited their own dignity than what treatment he had merited, and would send home his son and the hostages; that the kindness of the Roman people was always gratuitous; and that they chose to leave the value of them in the memory of the receivers, rather than to demand it in present." Titus Quintius Flaminius, Caius Licinius Nerva, and Marcus Caninius Rebilus, were nominated ambassadors to conduct Bitis, with the hostages, to Thrace; and a present of two thousand asces* was made to each of the ambassadors. Some of Perseus's ships, of a size never seen before, were hauled ashore in the field of Mars.

43. While people yet retained, not only fresh in memory, but almost before their eyes, the celebration of the Macedonian conquest, Lucius Anicius triumphed over King Gentius and the Illyrians, on the day of the festival of Quirinus. These exhibitions were considered rather as similar than equal. The commander himself was inferior; Anicius was not to be compared in renown with Æmilius; a pretor, in dignity of office, with a consul; neither could Gentius be set on a level with Perseus, nor the Illyrians with the Macedonians; nor the spoils, nor the money, nor the presents obtained in one country, with those obtained in the other. But though the late triumph outshone the present, yet the latter, when considered by itself, appeared very far from contemptible; for Anicius had, in the space of a few days, entirely subdued the Illyrian nation, remarkable for their courage both on land and sea, and confident in the strength of their posts; he had also taken their king, and the whole royal family. He carried, in his triumph, many military

standards, and much spoil of other sorts, with all the royal furniture; and also twenty-seven pounds' weight of gold and nineteen of silver, besides three thousand denariuses* and, in Illyrian money, the amount of one hundred and twenty thousand.† Before his chariot were led Gentius, with his queen and children; Caravantius, the king's brother, and several Illyrian nobles. Out of the booty he gave forty-five denariuses‡ to each footman, double to a centurion, triple to a horseman; to the Latine allies the like sums as to natives, and to the seamen the same as to the soldiers. The troops showed more joy in their attendance on this triumph than in that of Æmilius, and the general was celebrated in abundance of songs. Valerius Antias says, that this victory produced to the public twenty thousand sesterces,§ besides the gold and silver carried to the treasury; but as no sources appeared from which such a sum could be raised, I have set down my author instead of asserting the fact. King Gentius, with his queen, children, and brother, was, pursuant to an order of the senate, taken to Spoletium, to be kept there in custody; the rest of the prisoners were thrown into prison at Rome; but the people of Spoletium refusing the charge, the royal family was removed to Iguvium. There remained of the Illyrian spoil two hundred and twenty barks, which Quintus Cassius, by order of the senate, distributed among the Corcyreans, Apollonians, and Dyrrachians.

44. The consuls of this year, after merely ravaging the lands of the Ligurians, as the enemy never brought an army into the field, returned to Rome to elect new magistrates, without having performed any matter of importance. The first day on which the assembly could meet were chosen consuls, Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Caius Sulpicius Gallus. [A. U. C. 586. B. C. 166.] Next day were elected pretors, Lucius Livius, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, Aulus Licinius Nerva, Publius Rutilius Calvus, Publius Quintilius Varus, and Marcus Fonteius. To these pretors were decreed the two city provinces, the two Spains, Sicily, and Sardinia. There was an intercalation made in the calendar this year, which took place on the day after the feast of Terminus. One of the augurs, Caius Claudius, died this year, and

* 96*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*† 1*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.*‡ 3874*l.*§ 161,458*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

in his place was chosen by the college, Titus Quintus Flamininus. The flamen quirinalis, Quintus Fabius Pictor, died also. This year King Prusias arrived at Rome, with his son Nicomedes. Coming into the city with a large retinue, he went directly from the gate to the forum to the tribunal of the Pretor Quintus Cassius; and a crowd immediately collecting, he said that "he came to pay his respects to the deities inhabiting the city of Rome, and to the Roman senate and people, to congratulate them on their conquest of the two kings Perseus and Gentius, and the augmentation of their empire by the reduction of Macedonia and Illyria under their dominion." The pretor told him that, if he chose it, he would procure him an audience of the senate on the same day; but he desired two days' time, in which he might go round and visit the temples of the gods, see the city, and his acquaintances and friends. Lucius Cornelius Scipio, then questor, who had been sent to Capua to meet him, was appointed his conductor in Rome. A house was likewise provided, capable of lodging him and his retinue with convenience. On the third day after he attended at a meeting of the senate. He congratulated them on their success, recounted his own deserts towards them during the war, and then requested that "he might be allowed to fulfil a vow of sacrificing ten large victims in the capitol, and one to Fortune at Præneste; a vow which had been made for the success of the Roman people. He farther desired that the alliance with him might be renewed; and that the territory taken from King Antiochus, and not granted to any other, but now in possession of the Gauls, might be given to him." Lastly, he recommended to the senate his son Nicomedes. His interest was espoused by all those who had commanded armies in Macedonia; his requests, therefore, were granted, except that, with regard to the territory, he received this answer: that "they would send ambassadors to examine the matter on the spot. If the territory in question had become the property of the Roman people, and if no grant had been made of it, they would deem no other so deserving of a present of the kind as Prusias. But if it had not belonged to Antiochus, it evidently, in consequence, did not become the property of the Roman people; or if it had been already granted to the Gauls, Prusias must excuse them if they did not choose to confer a favour on him at the expense of oth-

ers' rights. A present cannot be acceptable to the receiver which he knows the donor may take away whenever he thinks proper. That they cheerfully accepted his recommendation of Nicomedes; and Ptolemy King of Egypt was an instance of the great care of the Roman people in supporting the children of their friends." With this answer Prusias was dismissed. Presents were ordered to be given him to the value of * * * sesterces, besides vases of silver, weighing fifty pounds; with others to his son Nicomedes, of the same value with those given to Masgaba, the son of King Masinissa; and that victims and other matters pertaining to sacrifices should be furnished to the king at the public expense, the same as to the Roman magistrates, whenever he chose to make the offering, either at Rome or at Præneste; and that twenty ships of war should be assigned to him, and which were then lying at Brundisium, of which he should have the use until he arrived at the fleet, which was freely given to him. That Lucius Cornelius Scipio should constantly attend him, and defray all his expenses and those of his retinue, until they went on board the ships. We are told that Prusias was wonderfully rejoiced at the kind treatment which he received from the Roman people; that he refused all that had been offered to himself, but ordered his son to receive the present of the Roman people. Such are the accounts given of Prusias by our own writers. Polybius, however, represents the behaviour of that king as highly unbecoming a person of his rank,—saying that he used to meet the ambassadors wearing a cap, and having his head shaved; calling himself a freed slave of the Roman people, and accordingly bearing the badges of that class: that likewise, when coming into the senate-house, he stooped down and kissed the threshold; called the senate, his tutelar deities, with other expressions not so honourable to the hearers as disgraceful to himself. He stayed in the city and its vicinity not more than thirty days, and then returned to his kingdom.

Here ends all that has reached us of this history. Of ninety-five books more, of which it originally consisted, the contents only have been preserved; they are as follow:—

BOOK XLVI.

Eumenes comes to Rome. [A. U. C. 586. B. C. 166.] He had stood neuter in the Macedonian war; in order, however, that he might not be deemed an enemy if excluded, or considered as absolved of all guilt if admitted, a general law was made that no king be received into the city. The consul Claudius Marcellus subdues the Alpine Gauls, and Caius Sulpicius Gallus the Ligurians. [A. U. C. 587. B. C. 165.] The ambassadors of King Prusias complain of Eumenes for ravaging their borders; they accuse him of entering into a conspiracy with Antiochus against the Romans. A treaty of friendship made with the Rhodians on their solicitation. [A. U. C. 588. B. C. 164.] A census held; the number of the citizens found to be three hundred and twenty-seven thousand and twenty-two. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus chosen chief of the senate. Ptolemy, King of Egypt, dethroned by his younger brother, is restored by ambassadors sent from Rome. [A. U. C. 589. B. C. 163.] Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, dies, and is succeeded by his son Ariarathes, who enters anew into a treaty of friendship with the Romans. [A. U. C. 590. B. C. 162.] Expeditions against the Ligurians, Corsicans, and Lusitanians, attended with various success. Commotions in Syria on occasion of the death of Antiochus, who left a son, an infant; who, together with his guardian Lesias, is murdered by Demetrius, who usurps the kingdom. [A. U. C. 591. B. C. 161.] Lucius Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Perseus; such was the moderation and incorruptibility of this great commander, that, notwithstanding the immense treasures he had brought from Spain and Macedonia, yet, on the sale of his effects, there could scarcely be raised a sum sufficient to repay his wife's fortune. [A. U. C. 592. B. C. 160.] The Pomptine marshes drained, and converted into dry land, by the consul Cornelius Cethegus.

BOOK XLVII.

Cneius Tremellius, a plebeian tribune [A. U. C. 593. B. C. 159], fined for contending in an unjust cause with Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, chief priest, which greatly enhanced the authority of the priesthood. A law made respecting the canvassing for offices. [A. U. C. 594. B. C. 158.] A census held; the number of Roman citizens found to be three hundred and

twenty-eight thousand three hundred and fourteen. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus again chosen chief of the senate. A treaty concluded between the Ptolemies, brothers, that one should be the king of Egypt, the other of Cyrene. [A. U. C. 595. B. C. 157.] Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, deprived of his kingdom by the intrigues and power of Demetrius, King of Syria; restored by the senate. Ambassadors sent by the senate to determine a territorial dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians. [A. U. C. 596. B. C. 156.] Caius Marcius, consul, fights the Dalmatians at first unfortunately, but afterward successfully. The cause of this war was, that they had made inroads on the Illyrians, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. [A. U. C. 597. B. C. 155.] The Dalmatians completely subdued by the consul Cornelius Nasica. The consul Quintus Opimius defeats the Transalpine Ligurians, who had plundered Antipolis and Nicæa, two towns belonging to the Massilians. [A. U. C. 598. B. C. 154.] Various ill successes, under different commanders, in Spain. In the five hundred and ninety-eighth year from the foundation of the city, the consuls enter on office immediately after the conclusion of their election, which alteration was made on account of a rebellion in Spain. [A. U. C. 599. B. C. 153.] The ambassadors, sent by the senate to determine a dispute between Masinissa and the Carthaginians, return, and report that the Carthaginians had collected a vast quantity of materials for ship-building. Several pretors, accused of extortion by different provinces, condemned and punished.

BOOK XLVIII.

A census held [A. U. C. 600. B. C. 152]; the number of citizens amounts to three hundred and twenty-four thousand. A third Punic war; causes of it. Marcus Porcius Cato urges a declaration of war against the Carthaginians, on account of their employing a vast body of Numidian troops, under the command of Arcobarzanes, destined, they allege, to act against Masinissa, but, he asserts, against the Romans. Publius Scipio Nasica being of a contrary opinion, it is resolved to send ambassadors to Carthage to inquire into the truth of the affair. The Carthaginian senate, being reproved for levying forces and preparing materials for ship-building contrary to treaty, declare themselves ready to make peace with Masinissa, on condition of his giving up the lands in dispute. But Gisgo, son of Hamilcar, a man of a seditious disposition, at that time chief magistrate, notwithstanding the determination of the senate to abide by the decision of the ambassadors, urges the Carthaginians to war against the Romans in such strong terms, that the ambassadors are obliged to save themselves, by flight from personal violence. On this being told at Rome, the senate be-

comes more highly incensed against them. Cato, being poor, celebrates the funeral of his son, who died in the office of pretor, at a very small expense. Andronicus, an impostor, pretending to be the son of Perseus, King of Macedonia, sent to Rome. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, who had been six times declared chief of the senate, on his death-bed gives strict orders to his sons that he shall be carried out to burial on a couch, without the usual ornaments of purple and fine linen, and that there shall not be expended on his funeral more than ten pieces of brass; alleging that the funerals of the most distinguished men used formerly to be decorated by trains of images, and not by sumptuous expense. An inquiry instituted concerning poisoning. Publicia and Licinia, women of high rank, accused of the murder of their husbands, tried before the pretor, and executed. [A. U. C. 601. B. C. 151.] Gulussa, son of Masinissa, gives information that troops were levying, and a fleet fitting out at Carthage, and that there could be no doubt of their intending war. Cato urging a declaration of war, and Nasica dissuading it, entreating the senate to do nothing rashly, it is resolved to send ten ambassadors to inquire into the affair. The consuls Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Aulus Postumius Albinus carrying on the levying of soldiers with inflexible severity, committed to prison by the tribunes of the people for not, at their entreaty, sparing some of their friends. The ill success of the war in Spain having so discouraged the citizens of Rome that none could be found to undertake any military command or office, Publius Cornelius Æmilianus comes forward, and offers to undertake any office whatever which it should be thought proper to call him to: roused by his example, the whole body of the people make the like offer. It was thought that the consul Claudius Marcellus had reduced all the states of Celtiberia to a state of tranquillity; nevertheless, his successor, Lucius Lucullus, is engaged in war with the Vaccæans, Cantabrians, and other nations of Spaniards hitherto unknown, all of which he subdues. In this war, Publius Cornelius Africanus Stipio Æmilianus, the son of Lucius Paulus, and nephew, by adoption, of Africanus, a military tribune, slays a barbarian who had challenged him, and distinguishes himself highly at the siege of Intercatia, being the first who scaled the wall. The pretor Servius Sulpicius Galba fights the Lusitanians unsuccessfully. The ambassadors, returning from Africa, together with some Carthaginian deputies and Gulussa, report that they found an army and a fleet ready for service at Carthage. The matter taken into consideration by the senate. Cato and other principal senators urge that an army should be immediately sent over into Africa; but Cornelius Nasica declaring that he yet saw no just cause for war, it is resolved that the same should not be decla-

red, provided the Carthaginians would burn their fleet and disband their troops; but if not, that then the next succeeding consuls should propose the question of war. A theatre, which the censors had contracted for, being built, Cornelius Nasica moves, and carries the question, that it be pulled down, as being not only useless, but injurious to the morals of the people: the people, therefore, continue to behold the public shows standing. Masinissa, now ninety-two years old, vanquishes the Carthaginians, who had made war against him unjustly, and contrary to treaty. By this infraction of the treaty they also involve themselves in a war with Rome.

BOOK XLIX.

The third Punic war [A. U. C. 602. B. C. 150], which was ended within five years after it began. Marcus Porcius Cato, deemed the wisest man in the state, and Scipio Nasica, adjudged by the senate to be the best, differ in opinion, and contend sharply; Cato urging the demolition of Carthage, Nasica arguing against it. It was however resolved, that war should be declared against the Carthaginians, for having fitted out a fleet contrary to treaty, and led forth an army beyond the boundaries of their state; for having committed hostilities against Masinissa, the friend and ally of the Romans; and refusing to admit Gulussa, who accompanied the ambassadors, into their city. [A. U. C. 603. B. C. 149.] Before any forces were embarked, ambassadors came from Utica, and surrendered their state and property to the Romans; a circumstance highly pleasing to the Roman senate, and at the same time a grievous mortification to the Carthaginians. Games exhibited at Tarentum in honour of Pluto, according to directions found in the Sibylline books. The Carthaginians send thirty ambassadors to Rome, to make a tender of submission; but the opinion of Cato, that the consuls should be ordered to proceed immediately to the war, prevails. These, passing over into Africa, receive three hundred hostages, and take possession of all the arms and warlike stores to be found in Carthage; they then, by authority of the senate, command them to build themselves a new city, at least ten miles from the sea. Roused by this indignant treatment, the Carthaginians resolve to have recourse to arms. Lucius Marcus and Marcus Manlius, consuls, lay siege to Carthage. During this siege two military tribunes force their way in, with their troops, in a place which they observed to be negligently guarded; they are set on and beaten by the townsmen, but rescued afterward by Scipio Africanus, who also, with a few horsemen, relieves a Roman fort attacked by the enemy in the night. He also repulsed the Carthaginians, who sallied forth in great force to attack the camp. When, afterward, one of the con-

suls (the other having gone to Rome to hold the elections), observing that the siege of Carthage was not going on prosperously, proposed to attack Hasdrubal, who had drawn up his forces in a narrow pass, he (Scipio) first advised him not to venture on an engagement on ground so very disadvantageous; and then, his advice being overruled by those who were envious both of his prudence and valour, he himself rushes into the pass; and when, as he foresaw, the Romans were routed and put to flight, he returns with a very small body of horse, rescues his friends, and brings them off in safety: which valiant action Cato, although much more inclined to censure than to praise, extols in the senate in very magnificent terms, saying that all the others who were fighting in Africa were but mere shadows; Scipio was life itself; and such was the favour he gained among his fellow-citizens, that at the ensuing election the greater number of the tribes voted for electing him consul, although he was under the legal age. Lucius Scribonius, tribune of the people, proposes a law that the Lusitanians, who, notwithstanding they had surrendered on the faith of the Roman people, had been sold in Gaul by Servius Galba, should be restored to liberty; which Marcus Cato supports with great zeal, as may be seen by his oration, which is still extant, being published in his annals. Quintus Fulvius Nobilior, although Cato had before handled him with great severity, yet takes up the cause of Galba. Galba himself too, apprehensive of being condemned, taking up in his arms his own two infant children and the son of Sulpicius Gallus, speaks in his own behalf in such a piteous strain of supplication, that the question is carried in his favour. One Andriscus, a man of the meanest extraction, having given himself out to be the son of Perseus, and changed his name to Philip, flies from Rome, whither Demetrius had sent him, on account of this audacious forgery; many people, believing his fabulous account of himself to be true, gather round him, and enable him to raise an army; at the head of which, partly by force, and partly by the willing submission of the people, he acquires the possession of all Macedonia. The story which he propagated was this: that he was the son of Perseus by a harlot: that he had been delivered to a certain Cretan woman to be taken care of and brought up; in order that, whatever might be the event of the war in which the king was at that time engaged with the Romans, some one, at least, of the royal progeny might remain. That, on the death of Perseus, he was educated at Adramyttium until he was twelve years old, ignorant all along of his real parentage, and always supposing himself to be the son of the person who brought him up. That at length, this person being ill, and like to die, discovered to him the secret of his birth, informing him at the same time of a certain writing, sealed with the royal signet of Perseus, which

had been intrusted to his supposed mother, to keep and give to him when he should attain to manhood ; but with the strictest injunctions that the affair should be kept a profound secret until the arrival of that period. That, when the time came, the writing was delivered to him, in which was indicated a very considerable treasure left him by his father. That the woman, after informing him fully of the circumstance of his birth, earnestly besought him to quit that part of the country before the affair should come to the knowledge of Eumenes, who, being the determined enemy of his father Perseus, would most assuredly procure him to be murdered. That, fearful of being assassinated, and in hopes also of receiving some assistance from Demetrius, he had gone into Syria, and had there first ventured openly to declare who he was.

BOOK L.

The aforesaid impostor [A. U. C. 604. B. C. 148], assuming the name of Philip, about to invade and forcibly possess himself of Thessaly, is prevented by the Roman ambassadors, with the aid of the Achæans. Prusias, King of Bithynia, a man abandoned to the practice of every vice, murdered by his son Nicomedes, assisted by Attalus, King of Pergamus. He had another son, who, in the place of teeth in his upper jaw, had one entire bone. The Romans send an embassy to negotiate peace between Nicomedes and Prusias ; it happening that one of the ambassadors had his head deformed by scars from many wounds, another was lame from gout, and the third was of weak understanding, Cato said it was an embassy without head, feet, or heart. The King of Syria was of the royal race of Perseus ; but being, like Prusias, addicted to every vicious pursuit, and passing his whole time in tippling-houses, brothels, and such like places of infamous resort, Ammonus rules in his stead, and puts to death all the king's friends, together with his queen Laodice, and Antigonus the son of Demetrius. Masinissa, King of Numidia, a man of a character truly illustrious, dies, aged upwards of ninety years ; he retained the vigour of youth even to his last years, and begot a son at the age of eighty-six. Publius Scipio Æmilianus, being authorized by his will so to do, divides his kingdom into three parts, and allots their respective portions of it to his three sons, Micipsa, Gulusa, and Manastabales. Scipio persuades Phamias, general of the Carthaginian cavalry under Himilco, a man highly looked up to and relied on by the Carthaginians, to revolt to the Romans, with the troops under his command. Claudius Marcellus, one of the three ambassadors sent to Masinissa, lost in a storm. Hasdrubal, nephew of Masinissa, put to death by the Carthaginians, who suspected him of treasonable views, on ac-

count of his affinity to Gaius, now the friend of the Romans. Scipio Æmilianus, when a candidate for the edileship, is by the people elected consul, though under age: a violent contest arises from this, the people supporting, the nobles opposing, his election, which at length terminates in his favour. Marcus Manlius takes several citizens in the neighbourhood of Carthage. The impostor Philip, having slain the pretor Publius Juventius, and vanquished his army, is himself afterward subdued and taken prisoner by Quintus Cæcilius, who recovers Macedonia.

BOOK LI.

Carthage [A. U. C. 605. B. C. 147], comprehended in a circuit of twenty-three miles, besieged with immense exertion, and gradually taken; first by Mancinus, acting as lieutenant-general, and afterward by Scipio, consul, to whom Africa was voted as his province without casting lots. The Carthaginians having constructed a new mole (the old one being destroyed by Scipio), and equipped secretly, in an extraordinary short space of time, a considerable fleet, engage unsuccessfully in a seafight. Hædrubal, with his army, notwithstanding he had taken post in a place of extremely difficult approach, cut off by Scipio, who at length masters the city in the seven hundredth year after its foundation. [A. U. C. 606. B. C. 146.] The greater part of the spoil returned to the Sicilians, from whom it had been taken. During the destruction of the city, when Hædrubal had given himself up into Scipio's hands, his wife, who a few days before had not been able to prevail on him to surrender to the conqueror, casts herself, with her two children, from a tower into the flames of the burning city. Scipio, following the example of his father Æmilius Paulus, the conqueror of Macedonia, celebrates solemn games, during which he exposes the deserters and fugitives to wild beasts. War declared against the Achæans, who had forcibly driven away the Roman ambassadors, sent to Corinth to separate the cities under the dominion of Philip from the Achæan council.

BOOK LII.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus engages and conquers the Achæans, together with the Bœotians and Chalcideans. Critolaus, their unsuccessful general, poisons himself, in whose room the Achæans choose Diaus, the chief promoter of the insurrection, general; he also is conquered in an engagement near Isthmos, and all Achæa reduced; Corinth demolished by order of the senate, because violence had been done there to the ambassadors. Thebes also, and Chalcis, for having furnished aid to the Achæans, destroyed. Extraordinary moderation of Mummius, who, having all the vast wealth and splendid ornaments of the

opulent city of Corinth in his power, took none of it. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus triumphs on account of his victory over Andriacus; likewise Publius Cornelius Scipio, for the conquest of Carthage and Hasdrubal. [A. U. C. 607. B. C. 145.] Viriathus, in Spain, from a shepherd becomes a hunter, then leader of a band of robbers; afterward, general of a powerful army, with which he possesses himself of all Lusitania, having vanquished the pretor Petilius, and put his army to flight. Caius Plautius, pretor, sent against him; is equally unsuccessful. So successful was his career, that at length it was deemed necessary to send a consul, at the head of a consular army, against him. Commotions in Syria, and wars between the kings in those parts. Alexander, a man utterly unknown, and of an unknown race, murders Demetrius, and usurps the crown in Syria: he is afterward slain by Demetrius (son of the before-mentioned Demetrius), aided by Ptolemy, King of Egypt, whose daughter he had married. Ptolemy grievously wounded in the head; dies of the operations intended for the cure of his wounds; is succeeded by his younger brother, Ptolemy, King of Cyrene. Demetrius, by his cruelty towards his subjects, provokes an insurrection: vanquished by Diodotus, and flies to Seleucia. Diodotus claims the crown for Alexander, a child scarcely two years old. Splendid triumph of Lucius Mummius over the Achæans.

BOOK LIII.

Appius Claudius, consul [A. U. C. 608. B. C. 144], subdues the Salacians, a nation of the Alps. Another impostor, assuming the name of Philip, makes his appearance in Macedonia; vanquished by the questor Lucius Tremellius. [A. U. C. 609. B. C. 143.] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, proconsul, defeats the Celtiberians. [A. U. C. 610. B. C. 142.] Quintus Fabius, proconsul, takes many cities of Lusitania, and recovers the greatest part of that country. Caius Julius, a senator, writes the Roman history in the Greek language.

BOOK LIV.

Quintus Pompeius, consul [A. U. C. 611. B. C. 141], subdues the Termestines in Spain; makes peace with them, and also with the Numantians. The census held; the number of citizens amounts to three hundred and twenty-eight thousand three hundred and forty-two. Ambassadors from Macedonia complain that Decius Junius Silanus, the pretor, had extorted money from that province; the senate, at his desire, refer the inquiry into the matter to Titus Manlius Torquatus, father of Silanus; having finished the inquiry, in his own house, he pronounces his son guilty, and disclaims him; and would not afterward at-

tend his funeral when he put an end to his life by hanging himself, but continued to sit at home, and give audience to those who consulted him, as if nothing which concerned him had happened. [A. U. C. 612. B. C. 140.] Quintus Fabius, proconsul, having successfully terminated the war, stains the honour of his victories by making peace with Viriathus on terms of equality. [A. U. C. 613. B. C. 139.] Servilius Cæpio procures the death of Viriathus by traitors; he is much bewailed, and interred with distinguished funeral honours by his army. He was, in truth, a great man, and a valiant general; and in the fourteen years during which he carried on war with the Romans, had very frequently vanquished their armies.

BOOK LV.

While Publius Cornelius Nasica [A. U. C. 614. B. C. 138], (who was nicknamed Serapio by the plebeian tribune Curiatius, a man of humour,) and Decius Junius Brutus, the consuls, were holding the levies, an act of public justice was done, in the sight of the whole body of the young men then assembled, which afforded a very useful example: Caius Matienus was accused before the tribunes of deserting from the army in Spain; being found guilty, he was scourged under the gallows, and sold as a slave for a very small piece of money.^a The tribunes of the people claimed the privilege of exempting from service any ten soldiers whom they thought proper; which being refused by the consuls, they commit them to prison. Junius Brutus, consul in Spain, allots lands, and a town called Valentia, to the soldiers who had served under Viriathus. Marcus Popilius, having made peace with the Numantines, which the senate refused to ratify, is routed, and his whole army put to flight. [A. U. C. 615. B. C. 137.] While Caius Hostilius Mancinus, the consul, was sacrificing, the holy chickens escape from their coop and fly away; afterward, as he was getting on board his ship to sail for Spain, a voice is heard crying out, "Go not, Mancinus, go not." The event afterward proves these omens to have been inauspicious; for, being vanquished by the Numantines, and driven out of his camp, having no prospect of preserving his army, he made a disgraceful peace, which the senate likewise refused to ratify. On this occasion, thirty thousand Romans were beaten by only four thousand Numantines. Decius Junius Brutus subdues all Lusitania as far as the western sea; his soldiers refusing to pass the river Oblivion, he snatches the standard and carries it over, whereon they follow him. The son of Alexander, King of Syria, traitorously murdered by his guardian Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon: his physicians were

^a Worth less than 4d.

tricked to give out that he had a stone in his bladder; in pretending to cut him for which they killed him.

BOOK LVI.

[A. U. C. 616. B. C. 136.] Decius Junius Brutus fights the Gallæcians with success in the Farther Spain: Marcus Æmilius, Lepidus engages the Vaccæans unsuccessfully, and is as unfortunate as Mancinus was against the Numantines. The Romans, to absolve themselves of the guilt of breach of treaty, order Mancinus, who made the peace with the Numantines, to be delivered up to that people; but they refuse to receive him [A. U. C. 617. B. C. 135.] The lustrum closed by the censors: number of citizens three hundred and twenty-three thousand. Fulvius Flaccus, consul, subdues the Vardeans in Illyria. Marcus Cosconius, pretor, fights the Scordiscians in Thrace, and conquers them. The war in Numantia, owing to the ill conduct of the generals, still continuing, the senate and people voluntarily confer the consulship on Scipio Africanus: on which occasion the law which prohibits any man from being elected consul a second time is dispensed with. [A. U. C. 618. B. C. 134.] An insurrection of the slaves in Sicily, which, the pretor not being able to quell it, is committed to the care of the consul, Caius Fulvius. Eunus, a slave, a Syrian by birth, was the author of this war; by gathering a large body of the rustic slaves, and breaking open the prisons, he raised a considerable army: Cleon also, another slave, having assembled seventy thousand slaves, joins him; and they several times engage the Roman forces in those parts.

BOOK LVII.

Scipio Africanus lays siege to Numantia. [A. U. C. 619. B. C. 133.] Reduces to strict discipline the army, now exceedingly licentious, being corrupted by luxurious indulgence; this he effects by cutting off every kind of pleasurable gratification; driving away the women who followed the camp, to the number of two thousand; keeping the soldiers to hard labour, and compelling every man to bear on his shoulders provisions for thirty days, besides seven stakes for their fortifications; whenever he observed any of them sinking under the burden, he used to cry out, "When you are able to defend yourself with your sword, then shall you be eased from your load of timber." He made them carry shields of immense size and weight, and not unfrequently ridiculed them for being more expert in managing their shields for the defence of their own bodies than their swords for the annoyance of those of the enemy. When he found any man absent from his post, he ordered him to be flogged, with vine-

twigs, if a Roman; if a foreigner, with rods. He sold all the beasts of burden, that the soldiers might be forced to carry their own baggage. He engaged in frequent skirmishes with the enemy with good success. The Vaccæans, being reduced to extremity, first put their wives and children to death, and then slew themselves. Antiochus, King of Syria, having sent him some very magnificent presents, Scipio, contrary to the practice of other commanders, who used to conceal these royal gifts, received them openly, and ordered the questor to place the whole to the public account; and promised, out of them, to reward those who should most distinguish themselves by their valour. When Numantia was closely invested on all sides, he gave orders that those who came out in search of victuals should not be killed, saying, that the more numerous the inhabitants were, the sooner would their provisions be consumed.

BOOK LVIII.

Titus Sempronius Gracchus, plebeian tribune, having proposed an Agrarian law (contrary to the sense of the senate and the equestrian order), that no person should hold more than five hundred acres of the public lands, wrought himself up to such a degree of passion, that he deprived his colleague, Marcus Octavius, of his authority, and appointed himself, together with his brother Caius, and his father-in-law Appius Claudius, commissioners for dividing the lands. He also proposed another Agrarian law, that the same commissioners should be authorized to determine which was public and which private land; and to settle the extent of each. When, afterward, it appeared that there was not land sufficient to be divided according to his scheme, and that he had excited the hopes of the people by the expectations held out to them, he declared that he would propose a law, that all those who, by the law of Sempronius, were entitled to such grant, should be paid in money, out of the bequest of Attalus, King of Pergamus. The senate was roused to indignation at such repeated ill treatment; and chiefly Publius Mucius, the consul, who, having delivered a severe invective against Gracchus in the senate, was seized by him, dragged before the people, and accused; nevertheless he continued to inveigh against him from the rostrum. Gracchus, endeavouring to procure his re-election as tribune, slain in the capitol by the chief nobles, by the advice of Publius Cornelius Nasica; is thrown, without the rites of sepulture, into the river, together with some others who fell in the tumult. Various engagements with various success against the slaves in Sicily.

BOOK LIX.

The Numantines, reduced to the extremity of distress by famine, put themselves to death. Scipio, having taken the city, destroys it, and triumphs in the fourteenth year after the destruction of Carthage. [A. U. C. 620. B. C. 132.] The consul Publius Rupilius puts an end to the war with the slaves in Sicily. Aristonicus, the son of King Eumenes, invades and seizes Asia; which, having been bequeathed to the Roman people by Attalus, ought to be free. The consul Publius Licinius Crassus, who was also chief priest, marches against him out of Italy (which never before was done), engages him in battle; is beaten and slain. Marcus Perperna, consul, subdues Aristonicus. Quintus Metellus and Quintus Pomponius, the first plebeians who were ever, both at one time, elected censors, close the lustrum; the number of citizens amounts to three hundred and thirteen thousand eight hundred and twenty-three, besides orphans and widows. [A. U. C. 621. B. C. 131.] Quintus Metellus gives his opinion, that every man should be compelled to marry, in order to increase the population of the state. His speech on the occasion is still extant, and so exactly does it apply to the present times, that Augustus Cesar read it in the senate on occasion of his proposing to remove from marriage all restraints on account of difference of rank. Caius Atinius Labeo, tribune of the people, orders the censor Quintus Metellus to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock, for striking him out of the list of the senate; but the other tribunes interfere and protect him. [A. U. C. 622. B. C. 130.] Quintus Carbo, plebeian tribune, proposes a law, that the people might have the power of re-electing the same tribune as often as they please: Publius Africanus argues against the proposition, in a speech of great energy, in which he asserts that Tiberius Gracchus was justly put to death. Caius Gracchus supports the proposed law, but Scipio prevails. War between Antiochus, King of Syria, and Phraates, King of Parthia. Commotions in Egypt. Ptolemy, surnamed Evergetes, detested by his subjects for his cruelty: they set his palace on fire: he escapes to Cyprus. The people confer the kingdom on his sister Cleopatra, who had been his wife, but he had divorced her, having first ill-treated, and then married her daughter. Incensed at his dethronement, he murders the son he had by her, and sends to her his head and limbs. [A. U. C. 623. B. C. 129.] Seditions excited by Fulvius Flaccus, Caius Gracchus, and Caius Carbo, commissioners for carrying into execution the Agrarian law: these were opposed by Publius Scipio Africanus, who, going home at night, in perfect health, is found dead in his chamber the next morning. His wife Sempronia, sister of the Gracchuses, with whom Scipio

was at enmity, is strongly suspected of having given him poison: no inquiry, however, is made into the matter. On his death, the popular seditions blaze out with great fury. Caius Sempronius, the consul, fights the Iapidae, at first unsuccessfully, but soon repairs all his losses by a signal victory, gained chiefly by Junius Brutus, the conqueror of Lusitania.

BOOK LX.

A rebellion in Sardinia [A. U. C. 624. B. C. 128]; quelled by the consul Lucius Aurelius. Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, who first subdued the Transalpine Ligurians, sent to assist the Massilians against the Saluvian Gauls, who were ravaging their country. Lucius Opimius, pretor, subdues the revolted Fregellans, and destroys their town Fregellæ. [A. U. C. 625. B. C. 127.] An extraordinary multitude of locusts in Africa, killed and lying dead on the ground, produces a pestilence. [A. U. C. 626. B. C. 126.] The censors close the lustrum: the number of the citizens three hundred and ninety thousand seven hundred and thirty-six. [A. U. C. 627. B. C. 125.] Caius Gracchus, plebeian tribune, the brother of Tiberius, yet professing more eloquence than him, carries some very dangerous laws; among others, one respecting corn, that the people shall be supplied with the article in the market, at the rate of half and a third of an ass: also an Agrarian law, the same as his brother's: and a third, intended to corrupt the equestrian order, who at that time were subservient in all their opinions to the senate: it was, that six hundred of them should be admitted of their house. At that time the senate consisted of only three hundred members: the operation of the law was to throw all the power into the hands of this order, by making them double in number to the ancient senators. His office being continued to him another year, he causes several colonies to be led out in various parts of Italy; and one, which he conducted himself, to be established on the soil where Carthage, now demolished, formerly stood. [A. U. C. 628. B. C. 124.] Successful expedition of the consul Quintus Metellus against the Balearians, called by the Greeks Gymnæsians, because they go naked all the summer. They are called Balearians, from their skill in throwing weapons: or, as some will have it, from Baleus, the companion of Hercules, who left him there behind him when he sailed to Geryon. [A. U. C. 629. B. C. 123.] Commotions in Syria, in which Cleopatra murders her husband Demetrius; and also his son Seleucus, for assuming the crown without her consent on his father's death.

BOOK LXI.

Caius Sextius, proconsul [A. U. C. 630. B. C. 122], having subdued the nation of the Salyans, founds a colony, which he names *Aquæ Sextiæ*, after his own name, and on account of the plenty of water which he found there flowing from both hot and cold springs. [A. U. C. 631. B. C. 121.] Cneius Domitius, proconsul, fights the Allobrogians with success at the town of Vindalium. The cause of this war was their receiving, and furnishing with all the aid in their power, Teutomalius, the King of the Salyans, who had fled to them; and ravaging the lands of the Æduans, who were in alliance with the people of Rome. [A. U. C. 632. B. C. 120.] Caius Gracchus, on the expiration of his seditious tribunate, seizes on the Aventine mount with a considerable number of armed followers; Lucius Opimius, by a decree of the senate, arms the people, drives him from thence, and puts him to death, together with Fulvius Flaccus, a man of consular rank, associated with him. Quintus Fabius Maximus, the consul, nephew of Paulus, gains a battle against the Allobrogians, and Bituitus, King of the Arvernians, in which one thousand one hundred and twenty of the army of Bituitus are slain. [A. U. C. 633. B. C. 119.] The king comes to Rome to make satisfaction to the senate, and is sent prisoner to Alba, there to be kept in custody, it not being deemed safe to send him back to Gaul. A decree also passes, that his son Congentiatus should be taken and sent to Rome. Submission of the Allobrogians. Lucius Opimius brought to trial before the people for committing to prison some citizens who had not been condemned; acquitted.

BOOK LXII.

The consul Quintus Marcius [A. U. C. 634. B. C. 118] subdues the Stonians, an Alpine nation. Micipsa, King of Numidia, dying, bequeaths his kingdom to his three sons, Adherbal, Hiempsal, and Jugurtha, his nephew, whom he had adopted. [A. U. C. 635. B. C. 117.] Metellus subdues the Dalmatians. Jugurtha goes to war with his brother Hiempsal; vanquishes and puts him to death; drives Adherbal from his kingdom, who is restored by the senate. [A. U. C. 636. B. C. 116.] Lucius Cæcilius Metellus and Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, censors, expel thirty-two senators. [A. U. C. 637. B. C. 115.] Disturbances in Syria.

BOOK LXIII.

Caius Porcius, the consul [A. U. C. 638. B. C. 114], combats the Scordiscians in Thrace unsuccessfully. The lustrum closed

by the censors: the number of the citizens amounts to three hundred and ninety-four thousand three hundred and thirty-six. *Æmilia*, *Licina*, and *Marcia*, vestals, found guilty of incest. [A. U. C. 639. B. C. 113.] The Cimbrians, a wandering people, come into *Illyria*, where they fight with and defeat the army of the consul *Papirius Carbo*. [A. U. C. 640. B. C. 112.] The consul *Livius Drusus* makes war on the *Scordiscians*, a people descended from the Gauls; vanquishes them, and gains great honour.

BOOK LXIV.

Jugurtha attacks *Adherbal*, besieges him in *Cirtha*, and puts him to death, contrary to the express commands of the senate. [A. U. C. 641. B. C. 111.] War is declared against him, which being committed to the conduct of the consul *Calpurnius Bestia*, he makes peace with *Jugurtha*, without authority from the senate and people. [A. U. C. 642. B. C. 110.] *Jugurtha*, called on to declare who were his advisers, comes to Rome on the faith of a safe conduct; he is supposed to have bribed many of the principal senators. He murders *Massiva*, who sought, through the hatred which he saw the Romans bore to *Jugurtha*, to procure his kingdom for himself. Being ordered to stand his trial, he escapes, and is reported to have said on going away, "O venal city! doomed to quick perdition could but a purchaser be found!" *Aulus Postumius*, having unsuccessfully fought *Jugurtha*, adds to his disgrace by making an ignominious peace with him, which the senate refuses to ratify.

BOOK LXV.

Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, consul [A. U. C. 643. B. C. 109], defeats *Jugurtha* in two battles, and ravages all *Numidia*. *Marcus Junius Silanus*, consul, combats the Cimbrians unsuccessfully. The Cimbrian ambassadors petition the senate for a settlement and lands; are refused. [A. U. C. 644. B. C. 108.] *Marcus Minucius*, consul, vanquishes the Thracians. *Cassius*, the consul, with his army, cut off by the *Tigurine* Gauls in the country of the *Helvetians*. The soldiers who survived that unfortunate action condition for their lives, by giving hostages, and agreeing to deliver up half their property.

BOOK LXVI.

Jugurtha [A. U. C. 645. B. C. 107], driven out of *Numidia* by *Caius Marius*, receives aid from *Bocchus*, King of the Moors. [A. U. C. 646. B. C. 106.] *Bocchus*, having lost a battle, and being unwilling to carry on the war any longer, delivers up *Ju-*

gutha. in chains, to Marius. In this action Lucius Cornelius Sylla, questor under Marius, most highly distinguishes himself

BOOK LXVII.

Marcus Aurelius Scaurus [A. U. C. 647. B. C. 105], lieutenant-general under the consul, taken prisoner by the Cimbrians, his army being routed: slain by Boiorix, for saying in their council, when they talked of invading Italy, that the Romans were not to be conquered. Cneius Mallius, consul, and Quintus Servilius Cæpio, proconsul, taken prisoners by the same enemy who defeated their armies and drove them from both their camps, with the loss of eighty thousand men, and forty thousand sutlers and other followers of the camp. The goods of Cæpio, whose rashness was the cause of this misfortune, sold by auction by order of the people, being the first person whose effects were confiscated since the dethroning of King Tarquin. [A. U. C. 648. B. C. 104.] Jugurtha and his two sons led in triumph before the chariot of Caius Marius; put to death in prison. Marius enters the senate in his triumphal habit, the first person that ever did so: on account of the apprehensions entertained of a Cimbrian war, he is continued in the consulship for several years, being elected a second and a third time in his absence: dissembling his views, he attains the consulship a fourth time. The Cimbrians, having ravaged all the country between the Rhine and the Pyrenees, pass into Spain; where, having committed the like depredations, they are at length put to flight by the Celtiberians: returning into Gaul, they join the Teutons, a warlike people.

BOOK LXVIII.

Marcus Antonius, prætor [A. U. C. 649. B. C. 103], attacks the pirates, and chases them into Cilicia. The consul Caius Marius, attacked by the Teutons and Ambrogians with their utmost force, defends himself; and afterward, in two battles in the neighbourhood of Aquæ Sextiæ, utterly defeats them, with the loss, it is said, of two hundred thousand killed, and ninety thousand taken prisoners. Marius elected consul, in his absence, a fifth time. A triumph offered to him, which he defers until he shall have subdued the Cimbrians also. [A. U. C. 650. B. C. 102.] The Cimbrians drive Quintus Catulus, the proconsul, from the Alps, where he had possessed himself of the narrow passes, and erected a castle to command the river Athasis, which he abandons. They pass into Italy. Catulus and Marius, having effected a junction of their forces, fight and vanquish them: in this battle we are told that there fell one hundred and forty thousand of the enemy, and that sixty thousand

were taken. Marius, on his return to Rome, is received with the highest honours by the whole body of the citizens; two triumphs offered him, but he contents himself with one. The principal men in the state, who were for some time extremely envious that such distinctions should be conferred on a new man, now acknowledge him to have saved the commonwealth. [A. U. C. 651. B. C. 101.] Publicius Malleolus executed for the murder of his mother, being the first that ever was sown up in a sack and cast into the sea. The sacred shields are said to have shaken with considerable noise previous to the conclusion of the Cimbrian war. Wars between the kings of Syria.

BOOK LXIX.

Lucius Apuleius Saturninus, aided by Marius,—the soldiers having killed his competitor, Aulus Nonius,—forcibly elected pretor; exercises his office with a violence equal to that by which he obtained it. Having procured an Agrarian law, he summons Metellus Numidicus to stand his trial before the people for refusing to swear to the observance of it. Metellus, notwithstanding he enjoyed the protection of all the best men in the state, yet, being unwilling to furnish matter of dispute, retires into voluntary exile to Rhodes: there he passed his time entirely in study, and in receiving the visits of men of eminent character. [A. U. C. 652. B. C. 100.] On his departure, Caius Marius, who was, in fact, the chief promoter of the sedition, and who had now purchased a fourth consulship by openly distributing money among the tribes, pronounced sentence of banishment on him. The same Saturninus murders Caius Memmius, who was a candidate for the consulship, fearing lest he might have in him a strenuous opposer of his evil actions. The senate were at length roused by such repeated acts of enormity, and Marius (a man of a very versatile character, and always desirous of being on the strong side, if he could any way discover it) joined them. In consequence of this, Saturninus, together with Glaucias the pretor, and some others of his mad associates, is attacked by force of arms, and slain by one Rabirius. [A. U. C. 653. B. C. 99.] Quintus Cæcilius Metellus honourably recalled from banishment. Marcus Aquilius, proconsul, puts an end to the war of the slaves in Sicily.

BOOK LXX.

Marcus Aquilius [A. U. C. 654. B. C. 98], accused of extortion, refuses to implore the favour of the judges appointed to try him; whereon Marcus Antonius, his advocate, cuts open his vest, and shows the scars of his honourable wounds received in front, on sight of which he is immediately acquitted. [A. U. C.

655. B. C. 97.] This fact is related on the authority of Cicero only. Successful expedition of Didius, the proconsul, against the Celtiberians. [A. U. C. 656. B. C. 96.] Ptolemy, King of Cyrene, dies; bequeaths his kingdom to the Roman people: the senate decrees that the cities shall be free. [A. U. C. 657. B. C. 95.] Ariobarzanes restored to his kingdom of Cappadocia by Lucius Sylla. Ambassadors from Arsaces, King of Parthia, come to Sylla to solicit the friendship of the Roman people. [A. U. C. 658. B. C. 94.] Publius Rutilius, a man of the strictest integrity, having exerted himself, when lieutenant-general under Quintus Mucius, proconsul, to protect the people of Asia from the oppression of the revenue farmers, becomes odious, on that account, to the equestrian order, who had the cognizance of affairs of that nature; is brought to trial, and condemned to exile. [A. U. C. 659. B. C. 93.] Caius Geminus, pretor, unfortunate in an expedition against the Thracians. [A. U. C. 660. B. C. 92.] The senate, disgusted by the many abuses committed by the equestrian order in the exercise of their jurisdiction, endeavour to bring that jurisdiction into their own hands; they are supported by Marcus Livius Drusus, plebeian tribune, who, in order to gain the people, holds out to them the pernicious hope of a pecuniary gratification. ~~Comma~~ tions in Syria.

BOOK LXXI.

Marcus Livius Drusus, plebeian tribune [A. U. C. 661. B. C. 91], in order the more effectually to support the senate in their pretensions, engages the concurrence of the allies and the Italian states, by promising them the freedom of the city. Aided by them, besides the Agrarian and corn laws, he carries that also relative to criminal jurisdiction;—that in capital prosecutions the senate should have equal authority with the equestrian order. It is afterward found that the freedom which he had promised cannot be conferred on them, which incenses and incites them to revolt. An account of their assembling, their combinations, and speeches made at their meetings by the chief men among them. Drusus becomes obnoxious to the senate, on account of his conduct in this affair; is considered as the cause of the social war; is slain in his own house by an unknown hand.

BOOK LXXII.

The Italian states, the Picentians, Vestinians, Marcians, Pignians, Marrucinians, Samnites, and Lucanians, revolt. The war begins with the Picentians. Quintus Servilius, proconsul, murdered in the town of Asculum, and all the Roman citizens

in the place. The whole body of the Roman people assume the military dress. Servius Galba, taken by the Lucanians, escapes by the assistance of a woman with whom he lodged. [A. U. C. 662. B. C. 90.] Æsernia and Alba besieged by the Italians. Aid sent to the Romans by the Latines and other foreign nations. Military operations, expeditions, and sieges on both sides.

BOOK LXXIII.

The consul Lucius Julius Cesar engages the Samnites unsuccessfully. The colony of Nola falls into the hands of the Samnites, together with Lucius Postumius, the pretor, whom they kill. Many different states go over to the enemy. Publius Rutilius slain in an engagement with the Marcians; Caius Marius, his lieutenant-general, fights them with better success. Servius Sulpicius defeats the Pelignians in a pitched battle. Quintus Cæpio, Rutilius's lieutenant-general, makes a successful sally against the enemy besieging him, on account of which success he is made equal in command to Marius; becomes adventurous and rash; is surprised in an ambuscade, his army routed, and himself slain. Successes of the consul Lucius Cesar against the Samnites; on account of his conquests, the inhabitants of Rome lay aside the military habit. The war carried on with various success. Æsernia, with Marcellus, falls into the hands of the Samnites; Caius Marius vanquishes the Marcians, and kills Herius Asinius, the pretor of the Marrucinians. Caius Cæcilius subdues the rebellious Salvians in Transalpine Gaul,

BOOK LXXIV.

Cneius Pompeius defeats the Picentians, and lays siege to their town; on account of this victory, the inhabitants of Rome resume their purple robes, other usual ornaments of dress, and distinguishing marks of magistracy. Caius Marius fights an undecided battle with the Marcians. Freedmen's sons now, for the first time, received into the army. [A. U. C. 663. B. C. 89.] Aulus Plotius subdues the Umbrians, and Lucius Porcius the Marcians, both of whom had revolted. Nicomedes restored to the kingdom of Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes to that of Cappadocia. Cneius Pompeius, consul, overthrows the Marcians in a pitched battle. The citizens being deeply involved in debt, Aulus Sempronius Asellio, pretor, is murdered in the forum by the usurers, in consequence of some judgments given by him in favour of debtors. Incursion of the Thracians, and devastations committed by them against the Macedonians.

BOOK LXXV.

Aulus Postumius Albinus, commander of a fleet, on a suspicion of treachery, murdered by the forces under his command. Lucius Cornelius Sylla, lieutenant-general, defeats the Samnites, and takes two of their camps. The Vestinians surrender to Cneius Pompeius. Lucius Porcius, consul, having been successful in frequent engagements with the Marcians, slain in an attack on their camp, which circumstance decides the victory in favour of the enemy. Cosconius and Luceius overthrow the Samnites in a battle, slay Marius Egnatius, the most distinguished of their generals, and receive the surrender of many of their towns. Lucius Sylla subdues the Hirpinians, defeats the Samnites in many battles, and receives the submission of several states: in consequence of having performed so many distinguished services, he repairs to Rome to solicit the consulship.

BOOK LXXVI.

Aulus Gabinius defeats the Lucanians, and takes several of their towns; is slain in an attack on their camp. Sulpicius, a lieutenant-general, commits military execution on the Marrecinians, and reduces their whole country. Cneius Pompeius, proconsul, forces the Vestinians and Pelignians to submission. Also the Marcians, defeated in several battles by Lucius Murena and Cæcilius Pius, sue for peace. [A. U. C. 684. B. C. 86.] Asculum taken by Cneius Pompeius, and the Italians there put to death by Mamercus Æmilius. Silo Pompædus, the author of the revolt, killed in an action. Ariobarzanes, King of Cappadocia, and Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, driven out of their kingdoms by Mithridates, King of Pontus. Predatory incursions of the Thracians into Macedonia.

BOOK LXXVII.

Publius Sulpicius, tribune of the people (having, with the aid of Caius Marius, carried certain laws,—that those who had been banished should be recalled; that the newly-created citizens and the sons of freedmen should be distributed among the tribes, and that Caius Marius should be appointed general against Mithridates), commits violence against Quintus Pompeius and Lucius Sylla, the consuls, who had opposed these proceedings; kills Quintus, the son of Pompeius, who was married to Sylla's daughter. Lucius Sylla comes into the town with an army, and fights the faction of Sulpicius and Marius in the city; he gets the better of them, and drives them out. Twelve of them, among whom are Caius Marius, the father, and his son, condemned by the senate. Publius Sulpicius, having concealed

himself in a farmhouse in the neighbourhood, is discovered by one of his slaves, apprehended, and put to death. The slave, being entitled to the reward promised to the discoverer, is made free, and is then thrown from the Tarpeian rock for having traitorously betrayed his master. Caius Marius, the son, passes over into Africa: Caius Marius, the father, having concealed himself in the marshes of Minturna, is seized by the townspeople: a Gallic slave, sent to despatch him, terrified at his majestic appearance, retires, unable to accomplish the deed: he is sent off to Africa. Lucius Sylla makes a considerable reform in the state: sends forth several colonies. Cneius Pompeius, proconsul, procures the murder of Quintus Pompeius, the consul, who was to have succeeded him in the command of the army. Mithridates, King of Pontus, seizes Bithynia and Cappadocia, having driven thence the Roman general Aquilius: at the head of a great army enters Phrygia, a province belonging to the Roman people.

BOOK LXXVHI.

Mithridates possesses himself of Asia: throws into chains Quintus Oppius, the proconsul, and Aquilius, the general: orders all the Romans in Asia to be massacred on the same day: attacks the city of Rhodes, the only one which had retained its fidelity to the Roman state. Being overcome in several actions at sea, he retreats. [A. U. C. 665. B. C. 87.] Archelaus, one of the king's governors, invades Greece; takes Athens. Com-motions in several states and islands; some endeavouring to draw over their people to the side of the Romans, others to that of Mithridates.

BOOK LXXIX.

Lucius Cornelius Sylla, having by force of arms procured the enacting of several injurious laws, is driven out of the city by his colleague, Cneius Octavius, together with six plebeian tribunes. Thus deposed from the authority, he procures the command of his army under Appius Claudius by bribery, and makes war on the city, having called to his assistance Caius Marius and other exiles from Africa. In this war two brothers (one of Pompeius's army, the other of Cinna's) encounter each other without knowing it; the conqueror, on stripping the other, whom he had slain, discovers who he is, whereon, in the agony of grief, he kills himself. Having erected a funeral pile for his brother, is himself consumed in the same flames. This war might easily have been suppressed in the beginning, but is kept up by the artifices of Pompeius, who underhand encouraged both parties, and kept himself aloof till much of the best blood

in the state was spilt: the consul also was singularly languid and negligent. Cinna and Marius, with four armies, two of which were commanded by Sertorius and Carbo, lay siege to the city. Marius takes Ostia, which he plunders in the most cruel manner.

BOOK LXXX.

The freedom of the city of Rome granted to the Italian states. The Samnites, the only people who continue in arms, join Cinna and Marius, and overthrow Plautius's army, killing the general. Cinna and Marius seize the Janiculum: repelled by the consul Octavius. Marius plunders Antium, Aricia, and Lanuvium. The principal men in the state, having now no hope of resisting, on account of the cowardice and treachery of their troops and of the commanders (most of whom had been gained by bribes), receive Cinna and Marius into the city. As if it were a captured place, they murder great numbers of the inhabitants, and plunder others in the most cruel manner. They put to death the consul Cneius Octavius, and all the chiefs of the opposite party; among others, Marcus Antonius, a man highly distinguished for his eloquence, with Lucius and Caius Cesar, whose heads they stick up on the rostrum. The younger Crassus slain by a party of horsemen at Fimbria: his father, to escape suffering indignity, kills himself. Cinna and Marius, without even the formality of an election, declare themselves consuls. The first day of their entering on office Marius, after having committed very many atrocious acts, dies on the ides of January; a man whom, if we compare his vices with his virtues, it will be difficult to pronounce whether he were greater in war or more wicked in peace. Having preserved his country by his valour, he ruined it afterward by every species of artifice and fraud, and finally destroyed it by open force.

BOOK LXXXI.

Lucius Sylla besieges Athens [A. U. C. 666. B. C. 86], held by Archelaus, under Mithridates, and takes it after an obstinate resistance: the city, and such of the inhabitants as remained alive, restored to liberty. Magnesia, the only city in Asia which continued faithful, defended against Mithridates with great valour. The Thracians invade Macedonia.

BOOK LXXXII.

Sylla defeats Mithridates in Thessaly, killing one hundred thousand men, and taking their camp. The war being renewed, he entirely routs and destroys the king's army. Archelaus, with the royal fleet, surrenders to Sylla. Lucius Valerius

Flaccus, Cinna's colleague in the consulship, appointed to succeed Sylla in the command of his army ; becomes so odious to his men on account of his avarice, that he is slain by Caius Fimbria, his lieutenant-general, a man of consummate audacity, who thereon assumes the command. Several cities in Asia taken by Mithridates, who treats them with extreme cruelty. Invasion of Macedonia by the Thracians.

• BOOK LXXXIII.

[A. U. C. 667. B. C. 85.] Caius Fimbria, having defeated several of Mithridates's generals in Asia, takes the city of Pergamus, and is very near making the king captive. He takes and destroys the city of Ilion, which adhered to Sylla, and recovers a great part of Asia. Sylla overcomes the Thracians in several battles. Lucius Cinna and Cneius Papirius Carbo, having declared themselves consuls, make preparations for war against Sylla ; Lucius Valerius Flaccus moves the senate, and, assisted by those who were desirous of peace, prevails, that a deputation should be sent to Sylla to treat of terms. Cinna, attempting to force his men to embark and go against Sylla, is slain by them. [A. U. C. 668. B. C. 84.] Carbo sole consul. Sylla makes peace in Asia with Mithridates, on condition that the king shall evacuate Asia, Bithynia, and Cappadocia. Fimbria, deserted by his army, which went over to Sylla, puts himself to death.

BOOK LXXXIV.

Sylla answers the deputies that he would yield to the authority of the senate on condition that those who, being banished by Cinna, had fled to him, should be restored ; which proposition appears reasonable to the senate, but is opposed and rejected by Carbo and his faction, who conceive that they may derive more advantage from a continuance of the war. Carbo, requiring hostages from all the towns and colonies of Italy, to bind them more firmly in union against Sylla, is overruled by the senate. The right of voting given to the new citizens by a decree of the senate. Quintus Metellus Pius, who had taken part with the chief men of the state, prepares for war in Africa ; is crushed by Caius Fabius, the pretor. [A. U. C. 669. B. C. 83.] Carbo's faction and the Marian party procure a decree of the senate that the armies shall be everywhere disbanded. The sons of freedmen distributed among the thirty-five tribes. Preparations for war against Sylla.

BOOK LXXXV.

Sylla enters Italy at the head of an army: his ambassadors ill-treated by Norbanus, the consul, whom he afterward defeats in battle. Having ineffectually tried every means with Lucius Scipio, the other consul, to bring about a peace, he prepares to attack his camp, when the consul's whole army, seduced by some of his soldiers, who had insinuated themselves among them, desert to him in a body. Having Scipio in his power, he sets him free when he might have killed him. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius who took Asculum, raises an army of volunteers, and goes over to Sylla with three legions: also, the whole body of the nobility quit the city and join his camp. Sundry actions in different parts of Italy.

BOOK LXXXVI.

Caius Marius, son of Caius Marius, made consul [A. U. C. 670. B. C. 82] by force, before he was twenty years old. Caius Fabius burnt alive in his tent, in Africa, for his avarice and extortion. Lucius Philippus, Sylla's lieutenant-general, having overthrown and killed the pretor Quintus Antonius, takes Sardinia. Sylla, in order to conciliate the different Italian states, makes a league with them, contracting not to deprive them of the city, and the right of voting lately conferred on them. So confident is he of the victory, that he publishes an order that all suiters bound by sureties should make their appearance at Rome, although the city was yet in the possession of the opposite party. Lucius Damasippus, the pretor, having called together the senate at the desire of Marius, murders what remains of the nobility in the city; among them Quintus Mucius Scævola, the high-priest, endeavouring to make his escape, is killed in the vestibule of the temple of Vesta. The war in Asia against Mithridates renewed by Lucius Murræna.

BOOK LXXXVII.

Sylla, having subdued and destroyed Caius Marius's army at Sacriportus, lays siege to Præneste, where Marius had taken refuge: recovers Rome out of the hands of his enemies. Marius, attempting to break forth from Præneste, is repelled. Successes of the different commanders under him everywhere.

BOOK LXXXVIII.

Sylla, having routed and cut off the army of Carbo at Clusium, Faventia, and Fidentia, drives him entirely out of Italy: fights and overthrows the Samnites, the only nation in Italy

which still continued in arms. Having restored the affairs of the commonwealth, he stains his glorious victory with the most atrocious cruelties ever committed : he murders eight thousand men in the Villa Publica, who had submitted and laid down their arms, and publishes a list of persons proscribed : he fills with blood the city of Rome and all Italy. All the Prænestines, without exception, although they had laid down their arms, he orders to be murdered : he kills Marius, a senator, by breaking his legs and arms, cutting off his ears, and scooping out his eyes. Caius Marius besieged at Præneste by Lucretius Asella and other partisans of Sylla ; endeavours to escape through a mine, failing in which attempt he kills himself.

BOOK LXXXIX.

Lucius Brutus, sent in a fishing-boat from Cossura, by Cneius Papirius Carbo, to Lilybæum, to discover if Pompeius were there, is surrounded by some of Pompeius's vessels, whereon he destroys himself. Cneius Pompeius, sent by the senate to Sicily with full powers, takes Carbo prisoner and puts him to death, who dies weeping with womanly weakness. Sylla made dictator ; assumes a state never before seen, walking, preceded by twenty-four lictors. He establishes many new regulations in the state ; abridges the authority of the plebeian tribunes ; takes from them entirely the power of proposing laws ; increases the college of priests and augurs to fifteen ; fills up the senate from the equestrian order ; takes from the descendants of the proscribed persons all power of reclaiming the property of their ancestors, and sells such of their effects as had not been already confiscated, to the amount of one hundred and fifty millions of sesterces. He orders Lucretius Ofella to be put to death in the forum for having declared himself a candidate for the consulship without having previously obtained his permission ; at which the people of Rome being offended, he calls a meeting, and tells them that Ofella was slain by his orders. [A. U. C. 671. B. C. 81.] Cneius Pompeius vanquishes and kills Cneius Domitius, one of the proscribed persons, in Africa ; also Hiarbas, King of Numidia, who was making preparations for war. He triumphs over Africa, although not more than twenty-four years of age, and only of equestrian rank, which never happened to any man before. Caius Norbanus, of consular rank, being proscribed, seeks safety at Rhodes, where, being discovered, he kills himself. Mutilus, one of the proscribed, coming privately and in disguise to the back door of his wife Bastia's house, she refuses to admit him, telling him that he was a forbidden man ; whereon he stabs himself, and sprinkles the door of his wife's house with his blood. Sylla takes Nola, a city of the Samnites. [A. U. C. 672. B. C. 80.] He leads forth forty-

seven legions into the conquered lands, and divides them among them. [A. U. C. 673. B. C. 79.] He besieges and takes the town of Volaterra; he demolishes likewise Mitylene, the only town in Asia which continued to adhere to Mithridates.

BOOK XC.

Death of Sylla [A. U. C. 674. B. C. 78]: he is buried in the Campus Martius by a decree of the senate. Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, by attempting to rescind the acts of Sylla, raises new commotions; is driven out of Italy by his colleague Quintus Catulus: endeavouring to excite a war in Sardinia, he loses his life. [A. U. C. 675. B. C. 77.] Marcus Brutus, who held possession of Cisalpine Gaul, slain by Cneius Pompeius. Quintus Sertorius, one of the proscribed, raises a formidable war in the Farther Spain. Lucius Manilius, proconsul, and Marcus Domitius, overthrown in a battle by the questor Herculeius. Expedition of the proconsul Publius Servilius against the Cilians.

BOOK XCI.

Cneius Pompeius, while yet only of equestrian rank, sent against Sertorius with consular authority. Sertorius takes several cities, and reduces many others to submission. The proconsul Appius Claudius conquers the Thracians in several battles. [A. U. C. 676. B. C. 76.] Quintus Metellus, proconsul, cuts off Herculeius, with his whole army.

BOOK XCII.

Cneius Pompeius fights an undecided battle with Sertorius, the wings on each side being reciprocally beaten. Quintus Metellus conquers Sertorius and Perperna, with both their armies: Pompeius, desirous of having a share in this victory, engages in the action, but without success. Sertorius, besieged in Clunia, makes frequent sallies, to the great loss of the besiegers. [A. U. C. 678. B. C. 75.] Successful expedition of Curio, the proconsul, against the Dardanians. Cruelties of Sertorius against his own partisans, many of whom he puts to death on pretended suspicion of treachery.

BOOK XCIII.

Publius Servilius, proconsul in Cilicia, subdues the Isaurians, and takes several cities belonging to the pirates. Nicomedes, King of Bithynia, dying, bequeaths his dominions to the Roman people, who reduce them into the form of a province. [A. U. C. 678. B. C. 74.] Mithridates establishes a league with Serte-

runs, and declares war against Rome ; makes vast preparations, both of land and sea forces, and seizes Bithynia. Marcus Aurelius Cotta overcome in an action by the king at Chalcedon. Pompeius and Metellus conduct the war against Sertorius, who proves fully equal to them in the military art. Sertorius raises the siege of Calagurrius, and compels them to retreat into different countries,—Metellus into the Farther Spain, Pompeius into Gaul.

BOOK XCIV.

Lucius Licinius Lucullus, consul, defeats Mithridates in an action between their cavalry, and makes several successful expeditions ; a mutiny among his soldiers, arising from an eager desire of fighting, repressed. Deiotarus, tetrarch of Gallogræcia, kills certain officers of Mithridates, who were stirring up war in Phrygia. Successes of Pompeius against Sertorius in Spain.

BOOK XCV.

Caius Curio, proconsul [A. U. C. 679. B. C. 73], subdues the Dardaniæ in Thrace. Seventy-four gladiators, belonging to Lentulus, make their escape from Capua : having collected a great number of slaves and hired servants, and putting themselves under the command of Crixus and Spartacus, they attack and defeat Claudius Pulcher, a lieutenant-general, and Publius Varenus, prætor. Lucius Lucullus, proconsul, destroys the army of Mithridates by the sword and famine at Cyzicus ; that king, driven from Bithynia, having suffered much in several engagements and shipwrecks, is at length obliged to fly to Pontus.

BOOK XCVI.

Quintus Arrius, the prætor [A. U. C. 680. B. C. 72], defeats and kills Crixus, the commander of the fugitive gladiators. Cneius Lentulus, the consul, engages Spartacus unsuccessfully, who also defeats Lucius Gellius, the consul, and Quintus Arrius, the prætor. Sertorius slain at a feast, in the eighth year of his command, by Manius Antonius, Marcus Perperna, and other conspirators : he was a great general ; and being opposed to two commanders, Pompeius and Metellus, was often equal, and sometimes even superior, to both of them ; at last, being deserted and betrayed, the command of his forces devolved on Perperna, whom Pompeius took prisoner and slew, and recovered Spain towards the close of the tenth year of that war. Spartacus gains another victory over Caius Cassius, the proconsul, and Cneius Manlius, the prætor : the charge of that war committed to the prætor Marcus Cræsus.

BOOK XCVII.

Marcus Crassus, the pretor [A. U. C. 681. B. C. 71], engages with and defeats an army of the fugitives, consisting of Gauls and Germans, killing thirty-five thousand of them, together with their general Granicus; afterward he fights Spartacus, whom he conquers, killing him and forty thousand men. The war against the Cretans, unfortunately undertaken, finishes with the death of the pretor Marcus Antonius. Marcus Lucullus, proconsul, subdues the Thracians. Lucius Lucullus gives battle to Mithridates in Pontus; overcomes him, killing sixty thousand men. [A. U. C. 682. B. C. 70.] Marcus Crassus and Cneius Pompeius elected consuls, the latter being only of the equestrian order, not having yet served the office of questor: they restore the tribunitian power. The right of trial transferred to the Roman knights by the pretor Lucius Aurelius Cotta. The affairs of Mithridates being reduced to a state of desperation, he flies for refuge to Tigranes, King of Armenia.

BOOK XCVIII.

A treaty of friendship made by Machares, son of Mithridates, King of Bosphorus, with Lucius Lucullus. Cneius Lentulus and L. Gellius, censors, exercise their office with extreme rigour; they expel sixty-four senators. The lustrum closed: the number of citizens amounts to four hundred and fifty thousand. [A. U. C. 683. B. C. 69.] Lucius Metellus, pretor, is successful against the pirates in Sicily. The temple of Jupiter in the capitol, having been consumed by fire, rebuilt, and dedicated by Quintus Catulus. [A. U. C. 684. B. C. 68.] Lucius Lucullus defeats Mithridates and Tigranes, with their vast armies, in Armenia, in several battles. The war against the Cretans being committed to the charge of the proconsul Quintus Metellus, he lays siege to the city of Cydonia. [A. U. C. 685. B. C. 67.] Lucius Triarius, a lieutenant-general of Lucullus, defeated in a battle against Mithridates. Lucullus prevented, by a sedition in his army, from pursuing Mithridates and Tigranes, and completing his victory: the principal authors of the sedition were the Valerian legions, who refused to follow Lucullus, alleging that they had served out their time.

BOOK XCIX.

The proconsul, Quintus Metellus, takes Gnosus, Lyctum, Cydonia, and many other cities. Lucius Rocius, plebeian tribune, carries a law, that the fourteen lower seats in the theatre shall be allotted to the Roman knights. Cneius Pompeius, being ordered by a law, which had the sanction of the people, to

proceed against the pirates, who had interrupted the commerce of corn, in forty days drives them wholly from the sea ; and, having finished the war against them in Cilicia, reduces them to submission, and assigns them lands and towns. Successes of Metellus against the Cretans. Letters between Metellus and Pompeius. Metellus complains that Pompeius had treated him injuriously, in sending a deputy of his own to receive the submission of the Cretans : Pompeius alleges that he had a right to do so.

BOOK C.

Caius Manilius, tribune of the people [A. U. C. 686. B. C. 66], to the great dissatisfaction of the nobility, proposes that the Mithridatic war should be committed to the conduct of Pompeius. His excellent speech on that occasion. Quintus Metellus, having subdued Crete, imposes laws on that hitherto free island. Cneius Pompeius, setting out for the war against Mithridates, renews the treaty of friendship with Phraates, King of Parthia ; overcomes Mithridates in an engagement between their cavalry. War between Phraates, King of Parthia, and Tigranes, King of Armenia ; afterward, between the father and son Tigranes.

BOOK CI.

Cneius Pompeius vanquishes Mithridates in a battle fought in the night, and compels him to fly to Bosphorus ; reduces Tigranes to submission, taking from him Syria, Phœnicia, and Cilicia ; restores to him his own kingdom of Armenia. A conspiracy to murder the consuls suppressed ; the authors of it were certain persons who had been convicted of unlawful practices when candidates for the consulship. [A. U. C. 687. B. C. 65.] Pompeius pursues Mithridates into remote and even unknown regions ; he fights and conquers the Iberians and Albanians, who had refused him a passage through their territories. Mithridates flies to the Colchians and Heniochians : his transactions at Bosphorus.

BOOK CII.

Pompeius reduces Pontus to the form of a Roman province. Pharnaces, son of Mithridates, makes war on his father. Mithridates, besieged in his palace, takes poison, which, not producing the desired effect, he procures himself to be slain by a Gaul named Bituitus. Pompeius conquers the Jews, and takes their temple, hitherto unviolated. [A. U. C. 688. B. C. 64.] Catiline, having twice failed in his pursuit of the consulship, forms a conspiracy, with Lentulus, Cethegus, and others, to de-

destroy the consuls and the senate, to burn the city, and seize the commonwealth; he raises an army in Etruria [A. U. C. 689. B. C. 63]: the conspiracy is discovered, and frustrated by the exertions of Marcus Tullius Cicero, the consul. Catiline is driven out of Rome; the other conspirators punished with death.

BOOK CIII.

Catiline's army vanquished [A. U. C. 690. B. C. 62], and himself slain, by the proconsul Caius Antonius. Publius Clodius accused of having entered a chapel, disguised in woman's apparel, which it was not lawful for a man to enter; and of having defiled the wife of the high priest: acquitted. Caius Pontinius, pretor, subdues the Allobrogians, who had rebelled. Publius Clodius joins the party of the people. Caius Cesar subdues the Lusitanians [A. U. C. 691. B. C. 61]: being a candidate for the consulship, and determined to seize the power of the commonwealth into his own hands, he forms a party with two of the principal men of the state, Marcus Antonius and Marcus Crassus. [A. U. C. 692. B. C. 60.] Cesar, now consul, procures the passing of some agrarian laws, contrary to the will of the senate, and notwithstanding the opposition of his colleague, Marcus Bibulus. [A. U. C. 693. B. C. 59.] Caius Antonius, proconsul, defeated in Thrace. [A. U. C. 694. B. C. 58.] Marcus Cicero banished, in consequence of a law procured by Publius Clodius, for having put to death Roman citizens uncondemned. Cesar goes into the province of Gaul, where he subdues the Helvetians, a wandering tribe, who, seeking a place of settlement, attempted to pass through Narbo, a part of his province. Description and situation of Gaul. Pompeius triumphs over the children of Mithridates and Tigranes, the father and son: the surname of the Great conferred on him by a full assembly of the people.

BOOK CIV.

Situation of Germany; description of that country, and of the people. Caius Cesar, at the request of the Æduans and Sequanians, leads his army against the Germans, who had invaded Gaul, under the command of Ariovistus; he rouses the courage of his soldiers, who were alarmed at the unusual appearance of these new enemies; he then defeats the Germans in an engagement, and drives them out of Gaul. [A. U. C. 695. B. C. 57.] Marcus Tullius Cicero, to the great joy of the senate and of all Italy, recalled from banishment chiefly by the persuasion of Pompeius, aided by Titus Annius Milo, plebeian tribune, who also argued in his favour. The charge of provi-

ding corn for the city committed to Cneius Pompeius for five years. Cesar overcomes in battle the Ambians, Suessians, Veromanduan, and Atrebatians, a people of the Belgians, whose numbers were immense, and reduces them all to subjection. He afterward, at great risk, engages the Nervians, a people belonging to one of the above states, and entirely cuts them off: this war they continued with such obstinacy, that their army was reduced from sixty thousand men to three hundred, and, of four hundred senators, only three remained alive. A law made to reduce Cyprus to the form of a province, and to confiscate the royal treasure; the management of that business committed to Marcus Cato. [A. U. C. 696. B. C. 56.] Ptolemy, ill treated by his subjects, and dethroned, comes to Rome. Caius Cesar defeats the Venetians, a people living on the borders of the sea, in a sea-fight. Successful expeditions of his lieutenant-generals.

BOOK CV.

Caius Cato, tribune of the people, persists in preventing the holding the elections; on which the senate goes into mourning. [A. U. C. 607. B. C. 55.] Marcus Cato, a candidate for the pretorship, loses the election, Vatinius carrying it against him. The same Cato committed to prison by the tribune Trebonius, for resisting the law allotting the provinces for five years: to Cesar, Gaul and Germany; to Pompeius, Spain; and to Crassus, Syria, and the Parthian war. Aulus Gabinius, proconsul, restores Ptolemy to his kingdom of Egypt, dethroning Archelaus, whom the people had elected king. [A. U. C. 698. B. C. 54.] Cesar, having vanquished the Germans, who had invaded Gaul, passes the Rhine, and subdues them also in those parts: he then crosses the sea, and, having suffered much from tempests, invades Britain; where, having killed a considerable number of the inhabitants, he reduces a part of the island to subjection.

BOOK CVI.

Julia, Cesar's daughter, and wife of Pompeius, dies; by a vote of the people, she is honoured with burial in the Campus Martius. Certain tribes of the Gauls revolt, and put themselves under the command of Ambiorix; they insnare and cut off Cotta and Titurius, lieutenant-generals under Cesar, with the armies under their command: having attacked other legions, who with difficulty defended their camps, and, among the rest, Quintus Cicero, they are at length defeated by Cesar himself. [A. U. C. 699. B. C. 53.] Marcus Crassus crosses the Euphrates to make war on the Parthians, and is overthrown in a battle, in

which his son is killed : having collected the remains of his army on a rising ground, a conference to treat of peace is proposed ; at which he is seized by a party under the command of Surenas : to avoid suffering any indignity, he makes such resistance as obliges them to put him to death.

BOOK CVII.

Caius Cesar, having subdued the Trevirian Gauls, passes over a second time into Germany ; finding no enemy there, he returns to Gaul, and reduces to obedience the Eburones, and other cities which had revolted. Titus Annius Milo, a candidate for the consulship, kills Publius Clodius on the Appian road, near Bovilla, whose body the people burn in the curia. [A. U. C. 700. B. C. 52.] The candidates for the consulship, Hypsæus, Scipio, and Milo, carry on their contention with so much rancour as to come to open violence, which excites a seditious tumult. To repress these enormities, Cneius Pompeius is a third time elected consul, in his absence, and without a colleague,—a circumstance which never occurred before. Milo tried for the murder of Clodius, and condemned to banishment. A law made, notwithstanding the strenuous opposition of Marcus Cato, to empower Cesar to stand for the consulship, though absent. Cesar's operations against the Gauls, who had almost all revolted, and put themselves under the command of Vercingetorix : he takes many towns ; among others, Avaricum, Biturium, and Gergovia.

BOOK CVIII.

Cesar overthrows the Gauls at Alesia, and reduces all the revolted cities to subjection. Caius Cassius, Marcus Crassus's questor, defeats the Parthians who had passed over into Syria. [A. U. C. 701. B. C. 51.] M. Cato fails in his pursuit of the consulship, the successful candidates being Servius Sulpicius and Marcus Marcellus. Cesar subdues the Bellovacians and other Gallic tribes. Disputes between the consuls concerning the sending out a person to succeed Cesar : Marcellus contends that Cesar should come home to sue for the consulship, being, by a law made expressly for that purpose, enabled to hold his province until that period. Exploits of Marcus Bibulus in Syria.

BOOK CIX.

Causes and beginning of the civil war [A. U. C. 702. B. C. 50]. disputes about sending a successor to Cesar, who refuses to disband his army unless Pompeius shall also do the same. Caius Curio, plebeian tribune, takes an active part : first, against Cesar ; afterward, in his favour. [A. U. C. 703. B. C.

49.] A decree of the senate being passed, that a successor to Cesar should be appointed, Marcus Antonius and Quintus Cassius are driven out of the city, for protesting against that measure. Orders sent by the senate to the consuls, and to Cneius Pompeius, to take care that the commonwealth should sustain no injury. Cesar, determined to make war on his enemies, arrives in Italy with his army; he takes Corsinium, and in it Lucius Domitius and Lucius Lentulus, whom he discharges; drives Cneius Pompeius and his adherents out of Italy.

BOOK CX.

Cesar besieges Massilia, the gates of which had been shut against him; leaving his lieutenant-generals, Caius Trebonius and Decius Brutus, to carry on the siege, he sets out for Spain, where Lucius Afranius and Caius Petreius, Pompeius's lieutenant-generals, with seven legions, surrender to him at Ilerda; he dismisses them all in safety. He also reduces to submission Varro, another lieutenant-general of Pompeius, with the army under his command. He grants the privileges of Roman citizens to the Gaditanians. The Massilians defeated in two engagements at sea; after having sustained a long siege, they yield to Cesar. Caius Antonius, a lieutenant-general of Cesar, makes an unsuccessful attack on Pompeius's forces in Illyria, and is taken prisoner. In the course of this war, the inhabitants of Opitergium, a district beyond the Po, in alliance with Cesar, seeing their bridge blocked up by the enemy's ships, rather than fall into their hands, kill one another. Caius Curio, one of Cesar's lieutenant-generals in Africa, after a successful engagement of Varus, a general of the Pompeian party, attacked and cut off, together with his army, by Juba, King of Mauritania. Caius Cesar passes over into Greece.

BOOK CXI.

Marcus Caelius Rufus, pretor [A. U. C. 704. B. C. 48], having excited a sedition in the city, by holding out hopes to the people that their debts should be annulled, turned out of his office, and driven from the city; he joins Milo, who, being in exile, was raising an army of fugitives: they are both slain. Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt, dethroned by her brother Ptolemy. The Cordubians in Spain, harassed by the extortion and oppression of the pretor Quintus Cassius, desert Cesar's party, together with two legions. Cneius Pompeius besieged by Cesar at Dyrrachium; beating him out of his lines, the siege is raised. The seat of war removed to Thessaly: Cesar overcomes Pompeius in a battle at Pharsalia. Cicero remains in the camp,—a man without any kind of talent for war. Cesar grants a free pardon to all who submit themselves to his power.

BOOK CXII.

Consternation and flight of the vanquished party in all parts of the world. Pompeius, endeavouring to escape into Egypt, is slain before he could get on shore, by order of Ptolemy the king, a minor, on the persuasion of Theodotus his governor. Cornelia his wife, and Sextus his son, fly to Cyprus. Cesar follows him three days after his victory; on being presented with the ring of Pompey by Theodotus, he is highly offended with him for putting him to death, and laments his fate with tears. [A. U. C. 705. B. C. 47.] Cesar enters Alexandria in safety, notwithstanding that city was in a state of tumult. Cesar created dictator; restores Cleopatra to her throne; and defeats Ptolemy with great slaughter, who had made war on him by the advice of those who had caused him to put Pompeius to death. Ptolemy, in his flight, driven on shore, in his vessel, in the Nile. Laborious march of Marcus Cato, with his legions, through vast tracts of desert country. Unsuccessful war of Domitius against Pharnaces.

BOOK CXIII.

The Pompeian party having collected their forces in Africa, the command in chief is given to Publius Scipio; Marcus Cato, who had been joined with him in the command, giving up. When it was deliberated in council whether the city of Utica should not be demolished, on account of its attachment to Cesar, Cato opposes that measure, which was strongly recommended by Juba. Cato's opinion prevailing, he is appointed governor of the city. Cneius Pompeius, the son of Pompeius the Great, having collected some forces in Spain, which neither Afranius nor Petreius would take the command of, puts himself at the head of them, and renews the war there. Pharnaces, King of Pontus, son of Mithridates, after supporting the war but a very short time, is subdued. A sedition excited in Rome by Publius Dolabella, a plebeian tribune, who moved for a law to extinguish the debts of the people. Marcus Antonius, master of the horse, brings troops into the town, and kills eight hundred of the people. Cesar discharges the veteran soldiers, who were grown mutinous; crosses over into Africa, and engages the forces of King Juba in a very hazardous combat.

BOOK CXIV.

Cæcilius Bassus [A. U. C. 706. B. C. 46], a Roman knight of the Pompeian party, stirs up war in Syria: the legion left there, under the command of Sextus Cesar, having slain their commander, revolted to Bassus. Cesar defeats the pretor Scipio, Afranius, and Juba, at Thapsus, and takes their camps.

Cato, hearing of this disaster, stabs himself at Utica: his son coming in, forces him to consent to have his wound dressed; but he afterward tears away the dressing and expires, in the forty-ninth year of his age. Petreius also puts Juba and himself to death. Publius Scipio also, his ship being overpowered, slays himself, having said to those who inquired after the general, "The general is well." Faustus and Afranius slain. Cato's son is pardoned. Brutus, Cesar's lieutenant-general, gives battle to the rebellious Bellovacians, and overcomes them.

BOOK CXV.

Cesar triumphs four times; over Gaul, Egypt, Pontus, and Africa. He gives a feast, and exhibits shows of every description. To Marcus Marcellus, a man of consular rank, he grants leave to return; but he is murdered at Athens by Magius Cilo, one of his dependants. Cesar holds a census: the number of citizens amounts to one hundred and fifty thousand. [A. U. C. 707. B. C. 45.] Cesar goes to Spain against Cneius Pompeius; where, after many attacks on both sides, he at length gains a signal victory, after a most desperate engagement, at Munda. Pompeius flies.

BOOK CXVI.

Cesar triumphs, a fifth time, over Spain. Very many and high honours decreed him by the senate; among others, that he should be styled Father of his country, and Sacred, and also that he should be perpetual dictator. [A. U. C. 708. B. C. 44.] He gives much ground of offence by his haughtiness and pride: for when the senate, waiting on him to signify the honours they had decreed him, find him sitting before the temple of Venus Genitrix, he rises not to receive them: when also Marcus Antonius, his colleague in the consulship, running among the Lupercalians, came up to him and placed a diadem on his head, he took it off, and laid it by him on a chair: he turned out of their office Epidius Marullus and Cæsetius Flavus, plebeian tribunes, for asserting that he had assumed the office of king. Having by these measures incurred the public hatred, a conspiracy was at length formed against him; the chiefs of which were Marcus Brutus and Caius Cassius, with two of his own partisans, Decius Brutus and Caius Trebonius. These kill him in the court of Pompeius, giving him three-and-twenty wounds; they then seize the capitol. The senate passes a decree of oblivion; then the conspirators, having first received the children of Antonius and Lepidus as hostages, come down from the capitol. Octavius, Cesar's nephew, is, by his will, made heir of half his acquisitions. Cesar's body burnt by the people in the Campus Martius, opposite the rostrum. The office of dictator

abolished for ever. Caius Amatius, one of the lowest of the people, giving himself out for the son of Caius Marius, excites some seditious movements among the credulous vulgar; slain.

BOOK CXVII.

Caius Octavius comes to Rome from Epirus, whither Cesar had sent him to conduct the war in Macedonia: is received with the most auspicious omens: assumes the name of Cesar. In the confusion and bustle of affairs, Lepidus contrives to procure his election to the office of chief priest. Marcus Antonius, consul, governs with much haughtiness, and forcibly causes a law to be passed respecting the change of provinces. Cesar, requesting him to join in punishing the murderers of his uncle, is harshly treated by him. Cesar, to strengthen himself and the commonwealth against Antonius, applies to the veteran soldiers, who had been settled in the colonies. The fourth legion also, and the Marcian, declare for Cesar against Antonius. Antonius, having put many to death on mere suspicion, causes the revolt of very considerable numbers to Cesar. Decius Brutus, in order to stop Antonius on his way into Cisalpine Gaul, seizes Mutina with his army. Attempts of both parties to get possession of the provinces: preparations for war.

BOOK CXVIII.

Marcus Brutus, in Greece, under the pretext of supporting the commonwealth, and the war against Antonius, manages to get the command of Vatinius's army and province. [A. U. C. 709. B. C. 43.] To Cesar, who first took arms in the defence of the commonwealth, is given the command, in quality of propretor, with the consular ornaments; he is also made a senator. Marcus Antonius besieges Brutus at Mutina; he sends deputies to Rome to treat of peace, but without effect. The people of Rome assume the military habit. Marcus Brutus reduces Antonius and his army to submission in Epirus,

BOOK CXIX.

Publius Dolabella circumvents Caius Trebonius in Asia, and kills him; for which crime the senate votes Dolabella to be a public enemy. Pansa, the consul, being engaged in an action with Antonius, and in danger of being worsted, Aulus Hirtius, his colleague, arrives, routs Antonius's forces, and restores the fortune of the day. Antonius, conquered by Hirtius and Cesar, joins Lepidus; is declared a public enemy by the senate, together with all his associates. Aulus Hirtius, who, after his victory, was slain in the enemy's camp, and Lucius Pansa, who died of a wound received in the action, are buried in the Campus Martius. To Cesar, the only surviving general of the three,

the senate showed but little gratitude ; for a triumph was voted to Decius Brutus, who was relieved from the siege of Mutina by Cesar, while they made but slight mention of Cesar and his army ; on which account he becomes reconciled to Antonius by the intervention of Lepidus, and arrives in Rome at the head of his army ; whereon those who before treated him with indifference, struck with fear, now elect him consul, although only in his twentieth year.

BOOK CX^X.

Cesar, consul, procures a law to be passed for an inquiry into his father's death : in consequence of which Marcus Brutus, Caius Cassius, and Decius Brutus are condemned, though absent. Asinius Pollio and Munatius Plancus, having joined their forces to those of Antonius, Decius Brutus, to whom the senate had given orders to pursue Antonius, being deserted by the legions under his command, flies ; is killed by Capenus Sequanus, by order of Antonius, into whose hands he fell. Cesar becomes reconciled to Antonius and Lepidus, and, in conjunction with them, assumes the entire direction of the public affairs for five years : it is agreed among them, that each shall have the power of proscribing his own particular enemies. In this proscription are included very many of the equestrian order, and one hundred and thirty senators ; among whom were Lucius Paulus, the brother of Lepidus, Lucius Cesar, Antonius's uncle, and Marcus Tullius Cicero. This last slain by Popilius, a legionary soldier, and his head and right hand stuck up on the rostrum, in the sixty-third year of his age. Transactions of Brutus in Greece.

BOOK CX^{XI}.

Caius Cassius, having received orders from the senate to pursue Dolabella, pronounced a public enemy, by virtue of this authority takes the command in Syria, and putting himself at the head of the three armies which were in that province, besieges Dolabella in Laodicea, and puts him to death. Caius Antonius taken and slain by order of Marcus Brutus.

BOOK CX^{XII}.

Marcus Brutus unsuccessful in an engagement with the Thracians. Afterward, all the provinces beyond sea, together with the armies in them, are brought into obedience to him and Cassius ; they meet at Smyrna to hold a council relative to the conduct of the war they are about to engage in. [A. U. C. 710. B. C. 42.] They subdue Publicola, the brother of Marcus Mesala, and agree in granting a pardon.

BOOK CXXIII.

Sextus, son of Pompey the Great, having assembled a considerable number of the proscribed Romans and other fugitives in Epirus, wanders about for a long time, subsisting chiefly by piracy; at length they seize, first, Messana in Sicily, and afterward the whole province. Then, having killed Aulus Pompeius Bithynicus, the pretor, they defeat Quintus Salvidienus, a general of Cesar's, in a seafight. Cesar and Antonius, with their armies, pass over into Greece, to make war against Brutus and Cassius. Quintus Cornificus overcomes Titus Sestius in a battle in Africa.

BOOK CXXIV.

Cesar and Antonius fight an indecisive battle with Brutus at Philippi, in which the right wing of each army is victorious, and on both sides the camps are taken: the death of Cassius at length decides the victory; for, being at the head of that wing which is beaten, he supposes his whole army routed, and kills himself. Afterward, in another battle, Brutus, being overcome, puts an end to his life.

BOOK CXXV.

Cesar [A. U. C. 711. B. C. 41], leaving Antonius to take care of the provinces beyond sea, returns to Italy, and makes a distribution of lands among the veterans. He represses, with great risk, a mutiny among his soldiers, who, being bribed by Fulvia, the wife of Marcus Antonius, conspire against their general. Lucius Antonius, consul, influenced by Fulvia, makes war on Cesar, having taken to his assistance those whose lands Cesar had distributed among his veteran soldiers: having overthrown Lepidus, who, with an army, had charge of the defence of the city, he enters it in a hostile manner.

BOOK CXXVI.

Cesar, now twenty-three years of age [A. U. C. 712. B. C. 40], besieges Antonius in Perusia; who, after several attempts to escape, is at length forced by famine to surrender. Cesar grants a pardon to him and all his followers. And having reduced all the various armies in different parts, puts an end to the war without effusion of blood.

BOOK CXXVII.

The Parthians, who had joined the Pompeian party under the command of Labienus, invade Syria, and having beaten Decidius Saxa, a lieutenant-general under Antonius, seize that whole province. Marcus Antonius, being urged by his wife Fulvia to

make war against Cesar, repudiates her, and, to strengthen his alliance with him, marries his sister Octavia. He discovers the guilt of Quintus Salvidienus, who was endeavouring to promote a conspiracy against Cesar: Quintus, being condemned, puts himself to death. [A. U. C. 713. B. C. 39.] Publius Ventidius overcomes the Parthians in a battle, in which their general Labienus is killed, and drives them out of Syria. Sextus Pompeius, keeping possession of Sicily, greatly obstructs the importation of corn; he demands peace, which is granted, and he is made governor of that island. Commotions and war in Africa.

BOOK CXXVIII.

[A. U. C. 714. B. C. 38.] Sextus Pompeius breaks the treaty which he had solicited, and infests the seas by his piracies; Cesar, obliged to make war on him, fights him in two indecisive sea-engagements. [A. U. C. 715. B. C. 37.] Publius Ventidius overthrows the Syrians in battle, and kills their king. [A. U. C. 716. B. C. 36.] Antonius's generals vanquish the Jews. Preparations for the war in Sicily.

BOOK CXXIX.

Several battles at sea with Sextus Pompeius, with various success; of Cesar's two fleets, the one under the command of Agrippa gains a victory; the other, led by Cesar himself, was cut off; and his soldiers, being set on shore, are exposed to great dangers. Pompeius is afterward defeated, and flies into Sicily. Marcus Lepidus comes from Africa, under the pretext of joining Cesar in the war against Sextus Pompeius, but in reality to fight against Cesar; is deserted by his army, and deprived of the honour of the triumvirate, but his life is granted him. Cesar confers a naval crown on Agrippa, an honour never before bestowed on any commander.

BOOK CXXX.

Marcus Antonius, having spent much time in luxurious indulgence with Cleopatra, arrives late in Media; with eighteen legions and sixteen thousand horse, he makes war on the Parthians. Having lost two of his legions, and nothing prospering with him, he retreats to Armenia; being pursued by the Parthians, he flies three hundred miles in twenty-one days. About eight thousand men lost by tempests: he was himself the cause of all these misfortunes, as well of the losses by the tempests as in the unfortunate Parthian war; for he would not winter in Armenia, being in haste to revisit Cleopatra.

BOOK CXXXI.

Sextus Pompeius [A. U. C. 717. B. C. 35], notwithstanding his engagements to **Marcus Antonius**, endeavours to raise a war against him in Asia; slain by one of Antonius's generals. [A. U. C. 718. B. C. 34.] **Cesar** represses a mutiny of the veterans; which threatened much mischief; he subdues the **Japidae**, the **Dalmatians**, and **Pannonians**. [A. U. C. 719. B. C. 33.] **Antonius** having, by promises of safety and protection, induced **Artavardes**, King of **Armenia**, to come to him, commands him to be thrown into chains, and gives the kingdom of **Armenia** to his own son, whom he had by **Cleopatra**, and whom he now treats as his wife, having been long enamoured of her.

BOOK CXXXII.

Cesar conquers the **Dalmatians** in **Illyria** [A. U. C. 720. B. C. 32]: he passes over to **Epirus**, at the head of an army [A. U. C. 721. B. C. 31], against **Antonius**, who, fascinated by the love of **Cleopatra**, by whom he had two sons, **Alexander** and **Philadelphus**, would neither come to **Rome**, nor, the time of his **triumvirate** being expired, would he resign that office; but meditated war, and was preparing a great force, both for sea and land. He had also divorced **Octavia**, **Cesar's** sister. **Sea-fights**, and battles on land between the cavalry, in which **Cesar** is victorious.

BOOK CXXXIII.

Antonius's fleet vanquished by **Cesar** at **Actium**. **Antonius** flies to **Alexandria**, where, his affairs being reduced to extremity, and being agitated by a false report of **Cleopatra's** death, he kills himself. **Cesar** having reduced **Alexandria** [A. U. C. 722. B. C. 30], **Cleopatra**, to avoid falling into his hands, puts herself to death. **Cesar**, on his return to **Rome**, triumphs three times: first, over **Illyria**; secondly, on account of the victory at **Actium**; and thirdly, over **Cleopatra**. Thus ends the civil war, after it had lasted one-and-twenty years. [A. U. C. 723. B. C. 29.] **Marcus Lepidus**, the son of **Lepidus** who was of the **triumvirate**, forms a conspiracy against **Cesar**; taken and killed.

BOOK CXXXIV.

Cesar, having settled the affairs of the state [A. U. C. 724. B. C. 28], and reduced all the provinces to exact order, receives the surname of **Augustus**: the month **Sextilis** is named, in honour of him, **August**. [A. U. C. 725. B. C. 27.] **Cesar** calls a meeting of the states at **Narbo**, and holds an inquiry into the state of the three **Gauls**, which were conquered by his father, **War** against the **Bastarnians**, **Mœsians**, and other nations, under the conduct of **Marcus Crassus**.

BOOK CXXXV.

War carried on by Marcus Crassus against the Thracians, and by Cesar against the Spaniards. [A. U. C. 729. B. C. 23.] The Salasians, a people of the Alps, subdued.

BOOK CXXXVI.

Rhætia subdued by Tiberius Nero and Drusus. Agrippa, Cesar's son-in-law, dies. The census held by Drusus.

BOOK CXXXVII.

Drusus besieges and takes several cities in Germany on both sides of the Rhine. Insurrections in Gaul, on account of the taxes levied on that nation, suppressed. [A. U. C. 740. B. C. 12.] An altar erected to the deified Cesar at the confluence of the Arar and the Rhone; dedicated by Caius Julius Vercundaridubius, an Æduan, appointed priest for that purpose.

BOOK CXXXVIII.

The Thracians subdued by Lucius Piso [A. U. C. 741. B. C. 11]; also the Cheruskans, Tenctherans, Cattians, and other nations beyond the Rhine, by Drusus. Octavia, Augustus's sister, dies, having before lost her son Marcellus: a theatre and portico, as his monument, dedicated in his name.

BOOK CXXXIX.

[A. U. C. 742. B. C. 10.] War against the nations beyond the Rhine conducted by Drusus: the chief opponents in this war were Senectius and Anectius, tribunes of the Nervians. Peace made with Parthia; the standards taken from their king under Crassus, and afterward under Antonius, being restored to them.

BOOK CXL.

[A. U. C. 743. B. C. 9.] War against the German nations beyond the Rhine conducted by Drusus, who breaks his leg by a fall from his horse, and dies on the thirteenth day after the accident. His brother Nero, on receiving an account of his illness, hastens to him; carries his body to Rome, where it is buried in the tomb of Caius Julius. Augustus Cesar, his uncle, pronounces his funeral oration, and the highest honours are paid him.









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